Queene Elizabethes Achademy,

A Booke of Precedence, &c.

edited by

Frederick J. Furnivall

with Essays on

Italian and German Books of Courtesy.

by

W. M. Rossetti and E. Oswald

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Extra Series, 8

1869

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Queene Elizabethes Achademy

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT)

A Booke of Precedence

The Ordering of a Funerall, &c.

Varying Versions of

The Good Wife, The Wise Man, &c.

Maxims, Lydgate's Order of Fools,

A Poem on Heraldry, Occleve on Lords' Men, &c.

Edited by

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

With Essays on

Early Italian and German Books of Courtesy

by

W. M. ROSSETTI, ESQ., & E. OSWALD, ESQ.

LONDON:

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

		PAGE
	FOREWORDS	i
I.	QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY, BY SIR H. GILBERT ...	1
II.	A BOOK OF PRECEDENCE	13
III.	THE ORDERING OF A FUNERALL FOR A NOBLE PERSON IN HENRY VII.'S TIME	29
IV.	A FUNERAL IN POPISH TIMES	32
V.	THE DEFINITION OF AN ESQUIRE, AND THE SEVERALL SORTES OF THEM ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOME AND VSAGE OF ENGLAND	38
VI.	THE GOOD WYFE WOLD A PYLGREMAGE	39
VII.	HOW þE GOODE WYFE TAUȝT HYR DOUȝTER	44
VIII.	HOW A WYSE MAN TAUGHT HYS SONE	52
IX.	STANS PUER AD MENSAM	56
X.	THE ABCE OF ARISTOTILL	65
XI.	ARISTOTLE'S ABC	66
XII.	PROVERBS OF GOOD COUNSEL	68
XIII.	HOW TO RULE ONE'S SELF AND ONE'S HOUSE	71
XIV.	GOOD ADUICE TO A GOUERNOUR	72
XV.	WARNINGS AND COUNSELS FOR NOBLEMEN	74
XVI.	THE SAGE FOOL'S TESTAMENT	77
XVII.	LYDGATE'S ORDER OF FOOLS	79

PAGE

XVIII. A PROPHECY. WHAT CAN MAN POSSESS? ILLS OF OUR TIME 85

XIX. QWAT SAL I DO? 86

XX. ILLS OF OUR TIME (A BETTER COPY) 88

XXI. THE ORDER OF THE GUESTS AT THE CORONATION BANQUET OF CATHERINE OF VALOIS 89

XXII. COURSES OF A DINNER AND SUPPER GIVEN TO HENRY V. BY SIR IOHN CORNEWELLE 90

XXIII. COURSES OF A MEAL OR BANQUET 92

XXIV. A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY 93

NOTES ON THE HERALDRY POEM 102

XXV. OCCLEVE: OF PRIDD AND OF WASTE CLOTHYNG OF LORDES MEN 105

XXVI. SIR PETER IDLE'S DIRECTIONS TO HIS SON (*an extract*) ... 109

NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY 111

GLOSSARIAL INDEX 112

INDEX OF NAMES, PERSONS, AND PLACES 122

GENERAL INDEX 126

PART II.

1. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS 1

2. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA, AND SOME OTHER GERMAN WORKS ON COURTESY 77

3. NOTE ON 'LE MENAGIER DE PARIS,' 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL 149

FOREWORDS.

THIS volume is meant as a kind of small brother to our fat Babees Book of 1868. It has been produced mainly to let the reader see the very interesting account in Part II. of early Italian Courtesy books by Mr W. M. Rossetti, and the more elaborate essay on the earliest German one (by an Italian) by Mr E. Oswald. To these I have added a very short, bare sketch of the curious early French treatise on the spiritual, social, and household duties of a wife, about 1393 A.D., *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a book to be read by all readers of 'The Knight de la Tour Landry.'[1] Part II. I look on as the body of this second Babee; Part I. as its frock or coat. Still, I hope that the stuff and trimmings of the boy's garment will be found worthy of examination, as well as his eyes and legs.

The first tract in Part I., *Queene Elizabethes Academy*,[2] is printed, 1. because it is another scheme drawn up for the same end as Sir Nicholas Bacon's for the bringing up of the Queen's wards, mentioned on pages xxii, xxiii of the Forewords to the *Babees Book*, on the authority of Mr Payne Collier, and displays more fully than my cutting-down of Mr Collier's sketch, 'the course of study of well-bred youths

[1] I hoped to have added an account from the pen of Mr F. W. Cosens, of an Early Spanish MS, in the Madrid Library, of a Mother's Instructions to her Daughter; but it will take too much time to get the MS copied, &c. Perhaps enough material for another volume on Manners and Courtesy will turn up by the time the Spanish poem is ready.

[2] I ask readers to correct ('of') *will*, (religion'), l. 7 of text, to '*evil*,' and cut out the comma after it.

in the early years of Elizabeth's reign'; 2. because it is an admirable scheme of Educational Reform; and 3. because the Reformer is Sir Humphrey Gilbert,[1] one of the ablest and gallantest men of the Elizabethan age. Some of my readers may know the account of him in Hakluyt; and others, that in Mr Froude's noble article in the *Westminster* on "England's Forgotten Worthies." At any rate, here is the latter, to give pleasure to all who read it:

Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbours in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into the river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found anywhere in England. Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh, here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbours, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh. Of this party, for the present we confine ourselves to the host and owner, Humfrey Gilbert, knighted afterwards by Elizabeth. Led by the scenes of his childhood to the sea and to sea adventures, and afterwards, as his mind unfolded, to study his profession scientifically, we find him, as soon as he was old enough to think for himself or make others listen to him, 'amending the great errors of naval sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degree of longitude in every latitude of one common bigness;' inventing instruments for taking observations, studying the form of the earth, and convincing himself that there was a north-west passage, and studying the necessities of his country, and

[1] It has Lord Burghley's endorsement on it [S^r^ Hum*f.* Gilb*ert* for an Academy of y^e^ ward*es*], but is without date. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. (Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, XXI., p. 506.)

discovering the remedies for them in colonisation and extended markets for home manufactures. Gilbert was examined before the Queen's Majesty and the Privy Council, and the record of his examination he has himself left to us in a paper which he afterwards drew up, and strange enough reading it is. The most admirable conclusions stand side by side with the wildest conjectures.

Homer and Aristotle are pressed into service to prove that the ocean runs round the three old continents, and that America therefore is necessarily an island. The Gulf Stream, which he had carefully observed, eked out by a theory of the *primum mobile*, is made to demonstrate a channel to the north, corresponding to Magellan's Straits in the south, Gilbert believing, in common with almost every one of his day, that these straits were the only opening into the Pacific, and the land to the South was unbroken to the Pole. He prophesies a market in the East for our manufactured linen and calicoes :—

"The Easterns greatly prizing the same, as appeareth in Hester, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure."

These, and other such arguments, were the best analysis which Sir Humfrey had to offer of the spirit which he felt to be working in him. We may think what we please of them ; but we can have but one thought of the great grand words with which the memorial concludes, and they alone would explain the love which Elizabeth bore him :—

[1] "Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise : for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

"And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries seruice and his owne honour, seeing death is ineuitable and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere sperno*."[2]

Two voyages which he undertook at his own cost, which shattered his fortune, and failed, as they naturally might, since inefficient help or mutiny of subordinates, or other disorders, are inevitable conditions under which more or less great men must be content to see their great thoughts mutilated by the feebleness of their instruments, did not dishearten him ; and in June 1583 a last fleet of five ships

[1] I quote the extracts from Hakluyt, instead of Mr Froude's modernized versions.

[2] His [Raleigh's] half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having obtained a patent to colonize some parts of North America, he embarked in this adventure ; but meeting with a Spanish fleet, after a smart engagement, they returned without success, in 1579.—*Platt*, v. 231.

sailed from the port of Dartmouth, with commission from the queen to discover and take possession from latitude 45° to 50° North—a voyage not a little noteworthy, there being planted in the course of it the first English colony west of the Atlantic. Elizabeth had a foreboding that she would never see him again. She sent him a jewel as a last token of her favour, and she desired Raleigh to have his picture taken before he went.

The history of the voyage was written by a Mr Edward Hayes, of Dartmouth, one of the principal actors in it, and as a composition it is more remarkable for fine writing than any very commendable thought in the author. But Sir Humfrey's nature shines through the infirmity of his chronicler; and in the end, indeed, Mr Hayes himself is subdued into a better mind. He had lost money by the voyage, and we will hope his higher nature was only under a temporary eclipse. The fleet consisted (it is well to observe the ships and the size of them) of the Delight, 120 tons; the barque Raleigh, 200 tons (this ship deserted off the Land's End); the Golden Hinde and the Swallow, 40 tons each; and the Squirrel, which was called the frigate, 10 tons. For the uninitiated in such matters, we may add, that if in a vessel the size of the last, a member of the Yacht Club would consider that he had earned a club-room immortality, if he had ventured a run in the depth of summer from Cowes to the Channel Islands.

"We were in number in all (says Mr Hayes) about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action; also, minerall men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse[s], and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people."

The expedition reached Newfoundland without accident. St John's was taken possession of, and a colony left there; and Sir Humfrey then set out exploring along the American coast to the south, he himself doing all the work in his little 10-ton cutter, the service being too dangerous for the larger vessels to venture on. One of these had remained at St John's. He was now accompanied only by the Delight and the Golden Hinde, and these two keeping as near the shore as they dared, he spent what remained of the summer examining every creek and bay, marking the soundings, taking the bearings of the possible harbours, and risking his life, as every hour he was obliged to risk it in such a service, in thus leading, as it were, the forlorn hope in the conquest of the New World. How dangerous it was we shall presently see. It was towards the end of August.

"The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral or Delight continued in sounding of Trumpets with Drummes and Fifes;

also winding the Cornets and Haughtboyes, and in the end of their iollitie left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels."

Two days after came the storm; the Delight struck upon a bank, and went down in sight of the other vessels, which were unable to render her any help. Sir Humfrey's papers, among other things, were all lost in her; at the time considered by him an irreparable misfortune. But it was little matter, he was never to need them. The Golden Hinde and the Squirrel were now left alone of the five ships. The provisions were running short, and the summer season was closing. Both crews were on short allowance; and with much difficulty Sir Humfrey was prevailed upon to be satisfied for the present with what he had done, and to lay off for England.

"So vpon Saturday, in the afternoone, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight; neither yet diuing vnder and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish; but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding, Notwithstanding, we presented ourselues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies; and, to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliuer. But he took it for *Bonum Omen*, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the deuill."

We have no doubt that he did think it was the devil; men in those days believing really that evil was more than a principle or a necessary accident, and that in all their labour for God and for right, they must make their account to have to fight with the devil in his proper person. But if we are to call it superstition, and if this were no devil in the form of a roaring lion, but a mere great seal or sea-lion, it is a more innocent superstition to impersonate so real a power, and it requires a bolder heart to rise up against it and defy it in its living terror, than to sublimate it away into a philosophical principle, and to forget to battle with it in speculating on its origin and nature. But to follow the brave Sir Humfrey, whose work of fighting with the devil was now over, and who was passing to his reward. The 2nd of September the General came on board the Golden Hinde 'to

make merry with us.' He greatly deplored the loss of his books and papers, but he was full of confidence from what he had seen, and talked with eagerness and warmth of the new expedition for the following spring. Apocryphal gold-mines still occupying the minds of Mr Hayes and others, they were persuaded that Sir Humfrey was keeping to himself some such discovery which he had secretly made, and they tried hard to extract it from him. They could make nothing, however, of his odd ironical answers, and their sorrow at the catastrophe which followed is sadly blended with disappointment that such a secret should have perished. Sir Humfrey doubtless saw America with other eyes than theirs, and gold-mines richer than California in its huge rivers and savannahs.

'Leauing the issue of this good hope [about the gold], (continues Mr Hayes), vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement persuasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his frigat; . . . . and when he was intreated by the captaine, master, and others, his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere—"I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."'

Two-thirds of the way home, they met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and pyramid wise.' Men who had all their lives 'occupied the sea' had never seen it more outrageous. 'We had also vpon our maine-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux.'

"Munday, the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recouered, and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall, sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind so oft as we did approch within hearing, "We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight; and withall our watch cryed, the General was cast away, which was too true.

"Thus faithfully (concludes Mr Hayes, in some degree rising above himself) I have related this story, wherein may alwaies appeare though he be extinguished, some sparkes of the Knight's vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America. . . . . Such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our

travelling into those Northwest lands,[1] the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors which before we noted to bee in this gentleman, and made vnsauorie and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

"Then as he was refined and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God, so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his and euery other high and noble minde haue alwayes aspired."

Such was Sir Humfrey Gilbert; still in the prime of his years when the Atlantic swallowed him. Like the gleam of a landscape lit suddenly for a moment by the lightning, these few scenes flash down to us across the centuries: but what a life must that have been of which this was the conclusion! We have glimpses of him a few years earlier, when he won his spurs in Ireland—won them by deeds which to us seem terrible in their ruthlessness, but which won the applause of Sir Henry Sidney as too high for praise or even reward. Chequered like all of us with lines of light and darkness, he was, nevertheless, one of a race which has ceased to be. We look round for them, and we can hardly believe that the same blood is flowing in our veins. Brave we may still be, and strong perhaps as they, but the high moral grace[2] which made bravery and strength so beautiful is departed from us for ever.—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects;* vol. ii. p. 136-45.

[1] Hayes says further:—

'These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as myselfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.'—*Hakluyt's Voyages,* vol. iii. p. 145.

[2] Compare 'the intemperate humours' of which Hayes speaks above. I don't believe Mr Froude's conclusion a bit, though it was generous in him to write it. The Victorian gentleman mayn't have so much devil in him, or break out into such humours, as the Elizabethan: but in moral grace he is far ahead of him. Self-restraint and moral grace have grown in the latter days.

Some other details as to Sir Humphrey's early life are given in Platt's *Universal Biography*,[1] and follow here:

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a brave officer and navigator, born about 1539, in Devonshire, of an ancient and honourable family. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Being introduced at court by his aunt, Mrs Catharine Ashley, then in the Queen's service, he was diverted from the study of the law, and commenced soldier. Having distinguished himself in several military expeditions, particularly that of Newhaven, in 1563, he was sent over to Ireland to assist in suppressing a rebellion, where, for his singular services, he was made commander-in-chief and governor of Munster, and knighted by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, Jan. 1, 1570. He returned soon after to England, where he married a rich heiress. In 1572 he sailed with a squadron of nine ships to reinforce colonel Morgan, who meditated the recovery of Flushing. In 1576 he published his book on the north-west passage to the East Indies. In 1578 he obtained an ample patent, empowering him to possess in North America any lands then unsettled. He sailed to Newfoundland, but soon after returned to England without success; nevertheless, in 1583 he embarked a second time with five ships, the largest of which put back on account of a contagious distemper on board. He landed at Newfoundland on the 3rd of August, and on the 5th took possession of the harbour of St John's. By virtue of his patent he granted leases to several people; but though none of them remained there at that time, they settled afterwards in consequence of these leases; so that Sir Humphrey deserves to be remembered as the real founder of the vast American empire. On the 20th of August he put to sea again, on board a small sloop, which on the 29th foundered in a hard gale of wind. Thus perished Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of quick parts, a brave officer, a good mathematician, a skilful navigator, and of a very enterprising genius. He was also remarkable for his eloquence, being much admired for his patriotic speeches in the English and Irish Parliaments. His work entitled 'A Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies,' is a masterly performance, and is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 11. The style is superior to most, if not to all, the writers of that age, and shows the author to have been a man of considerable reading."—*Platt's Universal Biography*, vol. v. p. 219.

The Poet Gascoigne, in his Epistle to the Reader, in *A Discourse for a new Passage to* Cataia. *VVritten by Sir Humphrey Gilbert*,

[1] See also Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 287; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss; Rose's *Biogr. Dict.; Pict. Hist. of England*, ii. 791.

Knight, imprinted, A.D. 1576,[1] says of the 'right worshipful and my very friend,' the author:

"In whose commendation I woulde fayne write as muche as hee deserueth, were I not afrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie, which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserue. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations: hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well giuen to th' aduauncemente of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie fauoure with my friende. For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen."[2]

The contents of Sir Humphrey's scheme bear out fully all that was said in the Forewords to the *Babees Book* on the neglect of education by the English nobility and gentry. 'Whereas now the most parte of them [the gentlemen within this realm] are good for nothinge' (p. 12), Sir Humphrey's aim is to make them 'good for some what.' 'Wheareas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educasions' (p. 10), they may now be brought up well, 'wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in times paste knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke' (p. 11): the very words of Pace's earlier fool of a so-called English Gentleman—the race is not like the Dodo yet—'it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to "the sons of rustics" (*Babees Book*, p. xiii); the words too of Skelton (*Colyn Clout*, Dyce's ed. i. 334),

[1] Also in Hakluyt's Voyages, iii. 11, ed. 1600.

[2] "Sir Humphrey was ready to try and make the passage himself; he had, says Gascoigne, prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was euen ready to haue perfourmed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and imployed in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as sithence in other places." *Ibid.*

But noble men borne, 621
To lerne they haue scorne,
But hunt and blowe an horne,
Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
Set nothing by polytykes.

Again, the laziness and viciousness of those who did go to Universities, is complained of (p. 10), and the crying evil of the education of those only places of training pointed out,—an evil of which they are not yet free,—their narrowness: that 'schol learninges' only are taught at Oxford and Cambridge; no 'matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre.' This narrowness made men then, as in later days, 'vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely.' Other protests by Sir Humphrey against this narrowness are seen in other parts of his plan, of which the first will come especially home to the hearts of our own Members, the study and use of *English*[1] (as against Latin) on which he insists at p. 2, complaining of 'the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly commen from the vniuersities.' 'Besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the appliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale.' Again, Sir Humphrey would have lectures on 'Ciuill Pollicie.' By which meanes Children shall learne more at home of the ciuill pollicies of all forraine countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauailed farthest abroade.' . . . and 'men shalbe taught more witt and policy than schole-learninge can deliuer . . . ffor [as Chaucer says] the greatest Schole Clarks are not always the wisest men . . . ffor suche as govern Common Weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same' (p. 3, 4). Again, Sir Humphrey would have his boys 'muscular Christians,' would teach them riding (p. 4), shooting, and marching (p. 5), navigation and the parts of a ship (p. 5), simple doctoring (p. 5, 6), and Natural Philosophy—the teachers of the two latter practising together 'to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may.'—'The Phisition should also teach surgery. By reason

[1] See Babees Book, p. lix.

that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbers Shoppe' (p. 6). Law is to be taught because 'It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen, should lerne to be able to put their owne case in law, and to haue some iudgment in the office of a Justice of Peace, and Sheriffe.' Of languages, besides Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (p. 2), French, Italian, and High Dutch or German (p. 7) are to be taught. 'Also there shalbe one Master of Defence, who shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and Dagger' &c., and who was to 'haue a dispensation against the Statute of Roages,' under which he would have been liable to branding and imprisonment, &c. (See Pref. to *Awdeley and Harman*, p. xiii.) So also the Phisician and Natural Philosopher were to be protected from the statute against Alchemists (p. 6). Music was also to be taught[1]; and the mention of the *Bandora* here (p. 7) enables us to say that Sir Humphrey's scheme was not written before 1562, when the Bandora was first invented by John Rose, citizen of London (see Notes, p. 111). Heraldry was to be taught too (p. 8), but not, we may be sure, with the nonsense clinging round its origin, of which a sample is given in pages 93-102 of the present volume. For other particulars the reader is referred to the little tract itself; but let him notice that the 'scrooging poor men's sons out of the endowments only for the poor' (*Babees Book*, p. xxxvi.) of which Harrison complained in 1577, and another writer before, was going on in Sir Humphrey's time:

> And also the other vniu*er*sities shall then better suffize to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapoincte the poore of their livinges and avauncement*es*.

The plan of the Achademy is in fact one for the establishment of a great London University for the education of youths in the art of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern London teachers and studies. I venture to think that Sir Humphrey's scheme will not detract from his fame for nobleness of spirit, keenness of sight, and directness of aim. After the copy of the tract

[1] See Forewords to the *Babees Book*, p. xxiii.

in this volume had been printed, Mr Wheatley informed me that Sir Henry Ellis had printed it before in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 506, &c. But this fact only rendered the presence of the *Achademy* here more appropriate, as our Extra Series is for reprints. I only wish Sir Henry had added some of the notes and illustrations to the tract, which he was so much more competent to give than I am, so that I might have reprinted those too.

The second tract, 'a Booke of Precedence' (p. 13), is printed, not mainly because 'John Bull loves a Lord'—although sensible outsiders proved to him last session that his dear Peers were politically hereditary nuisances, the obstructers of all liberal legislation,—but because the question of Precedence was so important a one in old social arrangements, and the feeling of caste still so strongly pervades all English society. Moreover, it is curious to know that a lady of title, in the presence of her higher in rank, might not have her train borne by a woman, though she might by a man (p. 15), as that marked her lowerness of station; while a poor baroness mightn't have her train borne by any one; but if she had a gown with a train, she was obliged to bear it herself (p. 25).

The third and fourth pieces in this volume describe, the third shortly (p. 29-31), and the fourth at greater length (p. 32-36), the manner of ordering the funerals of noble or knightly persons in late Popish times in England. One is bound to shew how people's corpses were dressed and dealt with, as well as their bodies; and to some churchy and upholstery people the details in these parts will no doubt have a more special interest. The 'Liveryes for Noblemen att Interyments,' at p. 36, represent, I suppose, the scarf, hatband, and gloves, given to commoners at funerals now.

The fifth piece is the 'Definition of the Esquier,' of which copies more or less different are found so often in MSS and books. Next, ought to have been added a short account of a curious, solemn procession of one of our Tudor queens, when she took to her chamber to lie in, and bear a child; but between Mr Childs and me the copy somehow disappeared. It shall, however, be printed in our third 'Babee,' if that ever sees the light.

The sixth piece is therefore a late and quite-changed version of

'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter,' *Babees Book*, p. 36, while the seventh piece is a less late and less changed version of the same poem, but still having enough differences, and noting enough fresh points of conduct, to render it worth printing.

As might have been expected concerning such teachings in early days, there is somewhat plainer speaking on the part of the mother, put down in the MS, than would appear in print now, as well as record of a ruder butcher-remark by the lookers-on, when a young woman happened to lift her petticoats rather high :

¶ Dɔ3ttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt ;
¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schall be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt."
¶ Witt an' O and an' I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe."

But that the thing was once done in Scotland, we have Sir David Lyndesay's testimony :

Bot I lauch oest to se ane Nwn,
Gar beir hir taill aboue hir bwn,
For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.
Sir D. Lyndesay's *Syde Tailis*, l. 55-8.

Marketing was also one of the occasions of warning and danger to young women :

Go not as it wer A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte.

Later on, Stubs comments savagely on the purposes which merchants' wives made carrying their baskets serve ; another satirist has the following skit on the practice :

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke, when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to buye her meate, that she

in the mene time may go to a baudy house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to learne facions, &c. (*The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament*, ab. 1550, A.D., p. 10 of Collier's reprint.)

The poet who wrote the version at p. 46, l. 73-5, below, and exhorted young damsels not to go to a wrestling, or a cock-fighting, or 'shooting,' like a strumpet or a gyglote (light hussy), would, I suppose, have been scandalized if he could have heard of Victorian ladies attending a pigeon-match, to say nothing of wrestling-matches, and athletic sports. Manners change, and mutual charity is needed when one time sets itself to judge another. In one of Mr Lumby's forthcoming texts for the Society, there is an extremely interesting Scotch version of the Good Wife, called *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, in 320 lines, p. 103-112, *Ratis Raving*, Book III.

The eighth and ninth pieces (pp. 52, 56) are altered versions of 'How the Good Man taught his Son,' and 'Stans puer ad Mensam,' *Babees Book*, pp. 48, 26; though the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate's short poem. The present copy dates itself, more or less nearly, by its telling the servants not to wear laced sleeves; for those sleeves were fashionable in Edward IV.'s reign, and the lacing was put across a full-padded sleeve. The nobility and gentry of the day conceived that this wearing of 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.,' was their special privilege; and accordingly, a statute of the 3rd year of Edward IV. A.D. 1463, forbids any yeoman or person under that degree to wear these bolsters, and therefore the laced sleeves; see p. 62, note. Of an earlier kind of sleeve, Occleve complains below, p. 106, as we shall see. Who the Dr Palere is, who is introduced into our 9th piece so often (p. 63-4), as a great authority, I do not know.

For our 10th and 11th pieces (p. 65, 66), we have altered versions of 'The A B C of Aristotle,' of which two copies were printed in the *Babees Book*, p. 9-12. The 10th piece, p. 65-6, is so different from its originals as to almost claim the character of a new piece.

In the 12th piece, 'Proverbs of Good Counsel,' of which I don't remember any other copy, there is a nice line, 'of all treasure, Knowledge is the flower:'

Son̄, yf þou wyste whate thyng' hyt were,
Conn̄yng' to lerne, & *with* þ^e^ to bere,
Thow wold not myspend on̄ howre ;
for of all Tresure Conny[n]g' ys flow*ur*. 50

Passing over the simple 13th piece, p. 71, we come to the 14th and 15th, 'Good Aduice to a Gouernour,' and 'Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen ;' and we are shown by the satire of the 16th piece, 'The Sage Fool's Testament' (p. 77),—though it is of an earlier date than the two bits that precede it—how much needed the Good Advice to the Governor and Nobleman really was ; how power and place, with money and little restraint, worked in early social England. There's a good slice of English History in that Fool's Testament ; and I commend it to the reader.

As an Appendix to it I have added our 17th piece, Lydgate's 'Order of Fools,' p. 79, a poor copy of a poor poem, but no doubt containing among its 63 caps, one that 'll fit each of us.

In the 18th piece (p. 85), are three interesting little bits, 'When England shall come to Grief,' 'All is phantom that we deal with'—eternity alone, reality,—and 'Ills of our Time,' when a good sure friend is hard to find. Of this last, a fuller copy, with Latin originals, is given as our 20th piece at p. 88.

The intervening poem, No. 19, p. 86, is the only pathetic piece in the volume. In his Northern dialect the writer, deserted by unkind, false friends, asks 'Qwat sal I do ?' Loving and true himself, he cannot understand why the world is thus false to him. He complains to God, desiring to die, and prays Him to quite those who have made his life so hard to lead. May his sad burden be new to all of us :

that I most trayste,
it is all waste !
sor may me rew !

The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd pieces are a change : 'The Order of the Ladies at the Coronation of Queen Catherine, Queen of Henry VII.' (p. 89) ; 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given by Sir John Cornwell to Henry V. ;' and 'Courses of a Meal or Banquet.' The latter were printed by Mr Edward Levien of the British Museum, he sends me word, in a late number of the *Journal of the Archæological*

Association, but as it is not on the shelf of the Museum Reading-room, where it ought to be, I cannot say what Mr Levien has made of these meals. For me, they are just continuations of Russell's in the *Babees Book;* and the cracking of one nut in them pleased me—*samaka*, p. 89.—What it could be I couldn't conceive ; perhaps some preserve of salmon, if fish were potted in those days : but the Forme of Cury's *Sambocade*, p. 77, which the excellent Pegge never put in his unalphabetical Glossary that worries everybody who refers to it, proved the needful pair of crackers ; it was—'*Sambocade ;* as made of the *Sambucus* or Elder' (Pegge) : curds, sugar, white of eggs, flavoured with elder-flowers, put in a crust, baked up with 'curose'—whatever that may be : 'curiously!' says Pegge,—and messed forth.

The reader has seen that our gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have Heraldry taught in his *Achademy* (pp. xi, 8). It is beyond question that our ancestors attributed much importance to the study of the art that recorded their descent and alliances ; and, no doubt, one's namesakes with the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion thought much of their arms, if they had any, as their Caerlaverock follower had.

This interest of our old men in the subject, is my only excuse for printing the 24th piece in this volume, a Poem on Heraldry (p. 93-102), about gules, and pales, and tortells, and masklewis, &c. &c., which are all Hebrew to me. A wonderful and fearful language it is that Heralds talk ; but I've bought a little *Grammar of Heraldry* by Mr Cussans (Longmans, 1866), and hope, by the help of the woodcuts, to understand it some day. Well, in turning over the Harleian Catalogue, I came on the title of this Poem (vol. iii. 332, col. 1), and Mr Bond, the Keeper of the MSS, decided that it was in the same hand as the second treatise in its volume, Harl. 6149, which is described in the Catalogue as "A treatise of the Signification of Armory, ... and at the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald,' or something near it, with the date 1494."

Not much sense was to be made out of this ; but a reference to the MS showed that the rubric printed in the Catalogue, though defaced in parts by dashes of black ink, was yet quite readable with

a little trouble ; and the 'something near it' of the Catalogue, proved to be :

Explicit iste lib*er* honorab*i*li armig*er*o Wilelmo cu*m*my*n* de Inu*e*rellochy[1] al*ia*s Marchemond heraldo p*er* ☞[=*manum*] Ad*e* loutfut[2] Anno D*omi*ni M° CCCC° nona*gesi*mo quarto men*sis* u*ero* Septembr*is*. [Harleian MS 6149, leaf 44.]

Thus one of the many skews in the Harleian Catalogue was set straight. (Don't let any one abuse the first Cataloguer of a Collection for skews. For all Catalogues (as for all Indexes) one ought to be grateful : for those without mistakes, most grateful.)

The questions then were, 1. Who was Sir William Cummyn? and, 2. was the Poem by him, or at least by a Scotchman, as from its language it seemed to be? The 2nd question was most kindly answered in the negative by a learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, whose name Mr David Laing mentioned to me, and who responded to the application of me, a stranger, by sending me the valuable notes printed on pages 102—104 below, and in them pointing out that certain marks of cadency mentioned in the poem were never used in Scotch Heraldry, though they were in English. The conclusion then forced on me was, that Adam Loutfut, Sir Wm. Cummyn's scribe, had copied the poem from an English original, and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83—108 of his MS, A "Buk of thordre of Chealry . . . . . translatid out of Franche in to Ynglis . . . . . by me Willȝam Caxton*n*e duelling in Westmy*n*stre ;" which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton's own text, to see what the worthy Adam—who sometimes copied *f* for *s*, *c* for *t*, and vice versâ, &c. &c.—has made of our rare old printer's southern speech.

What made the question of the authorship more important was, that the writer of the poem tells us he has written a Siege of Thebes (l. 30), A Troy-Book (l. 36-9), and a Brut (l. 52); perhaps three books : perhaps only one, taking in the three stories generally told separately. Here are the lines ; the reader can judge for himself :

[1] 'Innerellochy,' say the Charters, p. xxii below.
[2] *or* lontfut.

The eldest, gret, most popul*us*, mortal were,
wes at thebes, quhiche at linth I did write,
Quhare palamon*ne* and arsite, woundit there,
Be *ther* cot*is* of armes knawin *par*fite,
Be herald*is* war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,
ffor in *th*ai dais herald*is* war not create,
Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.

Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so mony king*is* war
Seging w*ith*out, *and* o*ther* w*ith*in *th*e toun*e*,
So mony p*rinc*is, kny*cht*is, *and* peple there,
as this my buk *th*e most sentence did sou*ne*,
all *thocht* spedful in o conclusioun*e*,
That nobillis bere m*erk*is, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtynes in ded*is* of armes schawin: . . . .

*Th*an troy distroyit, *th*e werr*is* endit, *th*e lord*is*
I seir land*is* removit; *and* so brut*us*,
(his lif *and* dait my buk ef*ter* record*is*,)
Come in brutan*e* w*ith* folk*is* popul*us*,
And broc*ht* w*ith* him *th*is werly m*erk*is thus,
quhiche succed*is* in armes to *th*is date;
Bot lang ef*ter* troy, herald*is* war no*cht* creat.

Now Lydgate wrote a Troy-Book and a Siege of Thebes. He may also have written a Brut of some kind; but I do not believe that he was the English author whom Loutfut scottified. The writer of the poem must surely have been a Herald's clerk, or a Herald of an inferior degree,—though as proud as a peacock of his order and his art, and his fellows, the salt of the earth,—for he thus speaks of the Heralds above him:

How *th*ai [1] be born, in quhat kind*is*, *and* quhare,
also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
That I refer to my lord*is* to declair,
king*is* of armes, *and* herald*is* of prudens,
and p*er*sewant*is*,[2] *and* grant my negligens
*th*at I suld not attempe *thus* to *com*moun*e*,
Bot of *ther* grace, correctioun*e*, *and* par*d*oun*e*, ...

And I confess my simple insufficiens:
llitil haf I sene, *and* reportit weil less,
of *th*is mater*is* to haf exp*er*ience.
Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express,

[1] That is, planets, signs of the air, herbs, birds, fishes, borne as arms.
[2] They, the 3rd and lowest order of Heralds, are yet above the writer.

In my waiknes, *and* not of wilfulnes,
my seid lord*is* correk me diligent,
To maid menis, or sey *the* remanent!

Wanted, then, the author of the present poem and the Siege of Thebes, the Troy Book, and Brut, above named.

It is possible that he may have been a Frenchman, *if* the heraldry suits the French rules—as my Scotch authority tells me it does not, for many reasons, and especially that the classification of *roundles* was quite unknown in France,—for another treatise once in this collection of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, but now cut out, was translated for him from the French, by his obedient son in the office of Arms, Kintyre, Pursevant:

[*Harleian MS* 6149, *leaf* 78.]

[H]eir eftyr folouis ane lytil trecty of the Instruccioun of the figur*is* of armes and of the blason*ing* of the samy*n*, eftir the fraynche oppinyon,[1] translatit owt of fraynche *in* Scott*is* at *the* co*m*mand of ane wirschepfull ma*n*, Wilze*m* Cumy*n* of Inue*r*ellochquy, al*ias* Marchemond herald, be his obedient sone *in* the office of armes, kintyr*e*, purseuant, and vndir his correccioun, as e*fter* folowis be cheptours

(The treatise itself is cut out from the MS.)

Having looked through the MS and dipped into likely-seeming parts, I think it quite certain that the writer of the poem does not refer to any of the short tracts in this MS volume of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, in none of which tracts could he have written "at linth," as he says, of the Theban War. Mr E. Brock, who has gone in like manner over the volume, is of the same opinion. In the 2nd tract in the volume, "the Signification of Armoury,"—the 1st is the frequent "Gaige of Battaill"—Julius Cæsar is spoken of, as in the poem (lines 57, 204), as the originator of Arms.

[*Harl. MS* 6149, *leaf* 5.]

In *the* tyme *that* Iulius Cesar, emp*e*rour of rom*m*e, conquest Afferik, Su*m*tyme namyt *the* land lucyant in *the* pa*r*tis of Orient, Rychtsua quhen pompe of rom*m*e *con*quest Ewrop, o*ther* wais callit *the* land of Ionnet, in *the* occident, *th*an war maid *the* rial offic*is* til

[1] MS oppimyon.

wnderstand *and* govern al thing*is* pertenyng to *the* craft of armes, *and* for to discut *and* juge *the* richt*is that* followis *ther*-appon. In *the* first wes constitut *and* ordanit be *the* said princ*is the* office of counstable ; Secoundly, *the* office of ammerall ; The third, *the* office of marschall ; The ferd war maid *the* capitanys *the* fift, to be at jugement of armes *the* herald*is, and* ilkane of *th*aim seruand in his degre.

Passing over the 3rd tract in the volume, on the Habiliments of Knights, (leaf 44), and the 4th, on Funerals (leaf 48), we come to the 5th, *Liber Armorum*, of which Mr Brock says,

'There is no account of any wars in the *Liber Armorum*,[1] so far as I can see; but there is a fabulous story which traces the gradual rise of *Arms*, &c.[2] A similar story is given in 'The First Fynding of Armes' at leaf 140.[3] It makes mention of Troy and certain Trojans.

Here is an extract :—

[*Harleian MS* 6149, *leaf* 141, *back.*]

And for to proced for*ther* in *our* mater*is*, *the* quhilk kind of peple of *the* forsad lemares ; w*ith*in certane process of ȝer*is* come *our* lady *that* I spak of before, *the* quhilk lemares wes trogelius dochter, *that* maid troye beforsaid quhe*ther* for *the* britons cornyfye (?), *and* wald be lawe of petigre chalaiñ kinrend of *the* vergin *our* lady, of *the* fader joachim, because thaj war troians, and come of troye be lynage of trogelius. To pas in *our* mater*is* ; Trogelius had thre sonnys in troy, The eldast wes callit arbaldus, The secound is callit Erewfilix, The third arbegraganus. [of whom] w*ith*in v^{c} ȝere, be ryc*ht* lynne come Ectour of troye, throuch al *the* warld anne of *the* ix worthiest. of *the* eldast sone arbaldus, efter *the* distructioune of troye xij ȝer*is*, be ryc*ht* lynne come brut*us*, of *the* quhilk ryc*ht* lyne of brut*us* w*ith*in certane process of ȝer*is* come arthour, anne of *the* ix worthi, throuch al *the* warld be law of armes callit. Of *the* second sone, Erewfilix saragen in sertagia, efter *the* distructione of troe vj^{c} ȝere xlviij ; come Iulius Cesar, *and* enterit in brettane *that* tyme apon cace, mony wynter befor king arthour.

[1] A book of heraldry, superscribed 'Incipit liber Armorum,' the first chapter of which is, 'How gentilmen shal be knowene from churles, and how thai fyrst began, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his thre sonnes.' *Harl. Catal.*

[2] The whole MS seems to be written by the same hand, except perhaps these two tracts: Art. 6, lf. 62, **De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differencia.** Art. 7, lf. 79, Heraldorum nomen et officium vnde extorsum sit Epistola, &c.

[3] "Here begynnys the first fynding of armes callit the origynall. . . . ."

I repeat again, then, 'Wanted, the author of our Poem and his three other Books!'

To hark back to our 2nd question, p. xvii above, 'Who was Sir William Cummyn of Inverellochy'? The answer is given in the following extract from the Appendix to Mr George Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863, to which Mr David Laing was good enough to refer me, and which Appendix Mr Seton states to be greatly indebted to Mr Laing's researches[1]:

'Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy, Co. Aberdeen—c. 1512. Second son of William Cumyng of Culter and Inverallochy (?), by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Meldrum of Fyvie, and fourth in descent from Jardine, second son of William Cumyng, Earl of Buchan, who got the lands of Inverallochy from his father in the year 1270. (Nisbet's Heraldry, ii. Appendix, p. 57.) Sir William appears to have held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1499 (Reg. Secreti Sigilli); and the lands of Innerlochy were granted to him and Margaret Hay, his spouse, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 18th January, 1503-4. He was knighted in 1507, and in a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quhyte (31st January, 1513), he is described as "circumspectus vir Will^mus Cumyn de Innerlochy, Rex Armorum supremi domini nostri Regis." (General Hutton's Transcripts, Adv. Lib.) His character of "circumspectus" (canny) is thus referred to by Bishop Leslie, in connection with the year 1513:—"Leo fecialis Angli Regis responsum sapienter eludit." (History of Scotland, 1578, p. 361.) In a deed dated 17th July, 1514, he is styled, "Willelmus Cumyng de Innerallochy miles, alias Leo Rex Armorum;" and again, in 1518, he is designed "Lioun King-of-Armes." The following curious account of Cumyng's insult by Lord Drummond, in the year 1515, is from the Genealogie of the House of Drummond, compiled by the first Viscount Strathallan in 1681, and printed about thirty years ago:—"John Lord Drummond was a great promoter of the match betwixt his own grandchild, Archibald Earle of Angus, and the widdow Queen of King James the Fourth, Margaret Teudores; for he caused his own brother, Master Walter Drummond's sone, Mr John Drummond, dean of Dumblane and person of Kinnowl, solemnize the matrimonial bond in the Kirk of Kinnowl, in the year 1514. Bot this marriage begot such jealousie in the rulers of the State, that the Earle of Angus was cited to appear before the Council, and Sir William Cummin of Inneralochy, Knight, Lyon King-at-Armes, appointed to deliver the charge; in doeing whereof, he seemed to the Lord Drummond to have approached the Earle with more boldness than discretion, for which he (Lord D.) gave the Lyon a box on the ear; whereof he complained to John Duke of Albany,

[1] See also the note, p. 102 below.

then newly made Governor to King James the Fifth, and the Governor, to give ane example of his justice at his first entry to his new office, caused imprison the Lord Drummond's person in the Castle of Blackness, and forfault his estate to the Crown for his rashness. Bot the Duke considering, after information, what a fyne man the Lord was, and how strongly allyed with most of the great families in the nation, wes well pleased that the Queen-mother and three Estates of Parliament, should interceed for him ; so he was soone restored to his libbertie and fortune."'—Page 478 (Appendix, Notices of the Lyon Kings-of-Arms), Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863.

Mr David Laing writes :—

"'*Cumming*' is the modern mode of spelling the name. In earlier times there are a great variety, such as Cumin, Cumine, Cuming, Cumyng, etc. The form in the Museum MS should be preferred.

The following is copied from the List of Charters under the Great Seal.

Cumming alias Merchmond Herauld	Carta Willielmo, et Margaretæ Hay ejus Sponsæ, Terrarum de Innerlochy, 18 Janrij 1503
Cumyn al*ias* Merchmond Herauld	Carta Willielmo, super Maritagijs Suorum hæredum 4 Ap^{ris} 1507
Cumyng filio	Carta Willielmo, filio et hæredi Willielmi Cumyng de Innerellochy, Militis, Terrarum de Innerelochy &c." 14 Julij 1513

The 25th piece in our volume was brought under my notice by the note [k] in Warton, ii. 480, on Lyndesay's *Syde Taillis* already quoted in these Forewords at p. xiii, and which the reader will perhaps have characterized, with Warton, as a poem having 'more humour than decency.' It is a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, and now in type for the Society's Part V. of Lyndesay's Works, under Mr J. A. H. Murray's editorship. The note in Warton says, 'Compare a manuscript poem of Occleve: *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men, which is azens her astate.* MSS Laud K. 78, f. 67 b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which, with their fur, amount to more than twenty pounds.' There are no doubt better MS copies of the poem than that printed here ; but I had not time to hunt for them, and Mr George Parker copied this Laud one, and read it with

the MS, as he did the other pieces from the Bodleian in this volume. It may have been printed before, but is not in the Percy Society's Poems and Songs on Costume, or any other volume that I remember.

The 26th and last piece in Part I. is a short extract from the least uninteresting part of Sir Peter Idle's 'Instructions to his Son' in the Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 4, 37, for which I am indebted to a young friend of Mr H. Bradshaw's, who wisely learns MSS as well as Mathematics, at college. The treatise has been long on our list for printing, Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* having tempted me, with this description, p. 64, to put it there:

> Idle Peter, of Kent, esquire, wrote '*Liber consolacionis et consilii*,' or Instructions to his son, extant in the Bodleian Library (Digby, 181), where his name is 'Peter Idywerte;' in the publick library, Cambridge (MSS More 124, [now Ee. 4, 37]); in the British Museum (MSS Har. 172, leaf 21), and in Trinity College, Dublin, D. 2. 7: 'In the begynnyng of thys lytill werke.'

But on looking through the MS, I found it at first little more than an expansion of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and like poems,[1] while in the latter part it went off into biblical and saints'-lives stories, of little interest to modern ears. So, though we must print the poem some day, it may stand over for a time. Print it, I say, because, if our old people were dull, foolish, and dirty, as well as interesting, wise, noble, and pure, we want the dulness, folly, and dirt, as well as their interestingness, wisdom, nobleness, and purity. We don't want to deceive ourselves about them, or fancy them cherubs without sterns. Let's know their weakness as well as their strength, and not talk gammon about 'the good old times' without looking fairly into them; though, when we have done this, we may still be able to say to the rest of the world, 'Match our old men if you can!'

This volume, then, the reader will see, may be looked on, from one point of view, as a kind of Resurrection Pie like we used to have once a week at school, in which we declared old left bits reappeared. But I prefer another metaphor, and hold, that through all the book's

[1] Our extract should be compared with the *Babees Book* piece, pp. 34 5, 'Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.'

different-looking limbs, one life of old England runs; and as irreverent friends in the Society have christened the first *Babees Book* my babee, I prefer to look on this present volume as my 2nd babee. Some may care to look at its eyes, some at its toes; some may perhaps penetrate to its navel, that continual marvel to the infantile mind [1]; prigs, no doubt, will scorn it all as trash; but it may lead some back to knowledge of days nearer England's childhood than our time is; and if it does, I shall be content.

To Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who has kindly made the Indexes to Part I.; to Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, and the learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, who have helped in the very difficult Heraldry Poem; to our copiers and readers, Messrs E. Brock, G. Parker (of Oxford), and W. M. Wood; and lastly to Mr W. M. Rossetti and Mr Oswald for their valuable and interesting Essays in Part II., I tender hearty thanks.

Nov. 14, 1869.

[1] I wonder whether Chaucerian and Tudor babies kept on asking their daddies 'What's this for?' as they put their little fingers in the hole, and when scolded as naughty boys, answered with 'Gog, gog!' and a grin.

PART I.

Early English Treatises and Poems

on

Education, Precedence, and Manners

in

Olden Time.

FROM MSS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, ETC.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy,

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT).

Lansdowne MS. 98, *art* 1, *leaf* 2.

The erection of an [1]**Achademy in London** for educac*i*on of her Ma*iestes* **Wardes, and** others the youth of nobility and gentlemen.

fforasmuch as (moste excellent soveraigne) the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen that happen to be *your* Ma*iestes* **Wardes,** the Custody of their bodies beinge of bownty grawnted to some, in rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable Confidence of their good educac*i*on, yet, neverthelesse, most commonly by such to whom they are com*m*itted, or by those to whom such Com*m*ittees have sould them, being eyther of ꝑiill/ ·eligion, or insufficient qualities, are, thorough the defaltes of their guardens, for the moste parte brought vp, to no small grief of their frendes, in Idlenes *and* lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince and Cowntrey, obscurely drowned in educac[i]on for sparing Charges, of purpose to abase their mindes, leaste, being better qualified, they should disdaine to stowpe to the mariage of such purchasers daughters; As, also, for that the greatest nomber of younge gentlemen within this Realme are most Conversant abowte **London,** where *your* Ma*iestes* Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence; Yt were good (as I thincke, vnder *Your* Highnes most gratious Correction,) that, for

[1] This Clarendon type is used for the words in larger letters in the MS.

their better educac*i*ons, there should be an **Achademy** erected in sorte as followeth :—

ffirst, there shalbe one Scholem*aister*, who shall teache **Grammar, both greke and latine**, *and* shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 40$^{li.}$ 1

Also there shalbe allowed to him fower **Vshers**, every of them being yerely allowed for the same, 20$^{li.}$, which maketh in the whole by the yeare, ... 80$^{li.}$

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache the **Hebrue tounge**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 50$^{li.}$ 1

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache bothe **Logick and Rethorick**, *and* shall weekely, on certen dayes therefore apoincted, see his schollers dispute and exercize the same, *and* shalbe yearely allowed therefore, ... 40$^{li.}$]

[leaf 2, back]

Note.

When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do yt in **Orations** made in English, both politique and militare, taking occasions owt of Discowrses of histories, approving or reproving the matter, not onely by reason, but also with the examples and stratagemmes both antick and moderne. ffor of what Comodity such vse of arte wilbe in our tounge may partely be seene by the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly Com*m*en from the vniu*er*sities : besides, in what language soeu*er* learninge is attayned, the apliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale. I omitt to shew what ornament will therby growe to our tounge, and how able yt will appeare for strengthe and plenty when, by such exercizes, learning shall haue brought vnto yt the Choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishmente of figures, and other beautyes of **Oratorie**,—Wherevpon I haue heard that the famous knight **Sir Iohn Cheeke** devised to haue declamac*i*ons, and other such exercizes, sometimes in the vniu*er*sities p*er*formed in **English**.

My Reason.

This kinde of educac*i*on is fittest for them, becawse they are wardes to the prince, by reason of knights service. And also, by this exercize, art shalbe practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done, togeather with the occasions of their victories or overthrowes, shall continually be kepte in

1 over 66$^{li.}$ 13$^{s.}$ 4$^{d.}$ struck out.

fresh memory; Wherby wise cownsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. ffor not without Cawse is **Epaminondas** commended, who, riding or Iourneying in time of peace, vsed oftentymes sodenly to appose his Company vpon the oportunity of any place, saying, "What yf *our* enemies were here or there, what were best to doe?"

Also there shalbe one **Reader of morall philosophie**, who shall onely reade the **politique parte** thereof, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100li.

Note.

This **philosophor** shall distinctly devide his **Readinges** by the day into two sortes,—The one concerning **Ciuill pollicie**, The other concerning **Martiall pollicy**.

Of Peace. [leaf 3]

In the discowrses towchyng **Peace**, he shall alleage particulerly the estates of all **monarchies** and best knowen **Common weales or principates** that both haue bene and are, Togeather with the distinct manner of their governement*es* towching **Ciuill pollicie**, And the principall Cawse concerning **Iustice, or their Revenues**, wherby they [be] any way encreased or diminished. And the same to be done, as neare as Conveniently may be, with speciall apliance of our owne histories, to the present estate and governement of this **Realme**. By which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the **ciuill pollicies** of all forraine Cowntries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue travailed farthest abroade.

Of Warres.

And towching **warres**, he shall also particulerly declare what manner of forces they had and haue, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training and maintaining, of their soldiars in every particuler kind of service.

My Reason.

By directing the **Lectures** to thendes afforesaid, men shalbe taught more witt and pollicy then **Schole learninges** can deliu*er*. And therfore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly apertaineth to haue the managing of matters of estate and pollicy. ffor the greatest **Schole clarkes** are not alwayes the wisest men.[1] Where-

[1] The grettest clerks beth not the wisest men,
As whilom to the wolf thus spak the mare.
CHAUCER. *Cant. Tales*, l. 4051-2.

vpon **Licurgus**, among other lawes, ordained that **Scholes** should be for childeren, and not for **philosophie.** ffor suche as governe Com*m*on **weales,** ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish Circumstan*ces* of the same.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of naturall philosophie,** who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40li.

Also there shalbe placed two **Mathematicians,** And the one of them shall one day reade **Arithmetick,** and the other day **Geometry,** which shalbe onely employed to **Imbattelinges, fortificac*i*ons, and matters of warre, with the practiz of Artillery,** and vse of all man*ner* of Instrumen*tes* belonging to the same. And shall once every moneth practize **Canonrie** (shewing the manner of **vnderminings**), and trayne his **Awditorie** to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of **fortificac[i]ons,** as well to prevent the **mine and sappe,** as the **Canon,** with all sortes of **encampinges and Imbattelinges,** *and* shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100li.

[leaf 3, back] Also this Inginer shalbe yearely allowed for the **powder and shotte** which shalbe employed for the practize of **Canonry** and the vse of **mines,** ... ... 100li.

Also there shalbe vnder him one **Vsher,** who shall teach his schollers the principles of **Arithmetick,** and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40li.

Also there shalbe one other **Vsher,** who shall teach his **Schollers** the principles of **Geometrie,** and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40li.

Also there shalbe entertained into the said **Achademy** one good horsman, to teache noble men *and* gentlemen to ride, make, and handle, a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at **Ringe, Tilte, Towrney, and cowrse of the fielde,** yf they shalbe armed. And also to skirmish on horsbacke with **pistolles,** not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10s. by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shalbe bownd to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercize, beinge yearely allowed therefore, ... 333li. 6s. 8d.

This **Rider** shall haue allowed vnto him at the first erecting of the Stable, to buy his horses, ... 266li. 13s. 4d.

This **Rider**, at his first Coming vnto the office, shall enter into bondes with suffitient sureties to leave vnto the **Achademie**, at his death or departure, the said horses, in as good estate as he receaved them, or others as good, or the full summe which he was allowed for the buying of them.

Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained **Sowldiour**, who shall teach them to handle the **Harquebuz**, and to practize in the said **Achademie** all kindes of **Skirmishinges, Imbattelinges,** and sondery kindes of **marchinges**, apointinge amonge them, some one tyme, and some another, to suply the roames of **Capitaines and** other officers, Which they may very well exercize without **armes**, and with light staves, in steade of **Pikes and Holbeardes,** beinge yearely allowed for the same, ... 66li. 13s. 4d.

[leaf 4] The other **Mathematician** shall reade one day **Cosmographie and Astronomy,** and the other day tend the practizes thereof, onely to the arte of **Nauigacion,** with the knowledge of necessary **starres,** making vse of Instrumentes apertaining to the same; and also shall haue in his **Schole** a shippe *and* gallye, made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache vnto his Awditory as well the knowledge and vse by name of euery parte thereof, as also the perfect arte of a **Shipwright,** and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, *and* shalbe yearely allowed, ... 66li. 13s. 4d.

Also there shalbe one who shall teache to draw **mappes, Sea chartes,** &c., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the grownde *and* rules of **proportion and necessarie perspectiue and mensuration** belonging to the same, and shalbe yearely allowed, ... 40li.

Also there shalbe entertained one **Doctor of phisick**, who shall one day reade **phisick,** and another daie **Chirurgerie,** in the **Englishe toung,** towching all kindes of **Vlcers, Sores, Phistiloes, wowndes,** &c. Togeather with all kindes of **medicines** for the same, as well **Chimice** as otherwise, and shalbe yearely allowed, ... 100li.

Note.

This **Reader** shall never alleage any medicine, be yt of **simples, salues, saltes, balmes, oyles, spirites, tinctures,** or otherwise, But that he shall declare the **reason philosophicall** of euery **particuler**

ingredience for such operacion, And shew his hearers the **mechanicall** making and working thereof, with all manner of **vesselles, furnishes, and other Instrumentes and vtensiles apertaining** to the same.

Note.

This **phisition shall** continually practize togeather with the **naturall philosophor,** by the fire and otherwise, to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the **Treasorer** his office, faire and plaine written in Parchment, without **Equiuocac[i]ons** or **Enigmaticall phrases**, vnder their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the forepassed yeare, Togeather with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, To thend that their **Successors** may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in **Awcomistrie** there be any such thinges hidden. ffor whose saffetyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of **Henry** *the* **4th** towching **multiplicacion** to be dispensed at large.

[leaf 4, back]

My Reason.

The **Phisition** shall practize to reade **Chirurgerie,** becawse, thorough wante of learning therein, we haue verie few good **Chirurgions,** yf any at all, By reason that **Chirurgerie** is not now to be learned in any other place then in a **Barbors shoppe,** And in that shoppe, most dawngerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for Clenlynes must be done by those which haue to do with infected personnes.

Note.

This **Philosophor and phisition** shall haue a garden apointed them which they shall furnish and maintaine with all kindes of simples; and shalbe yearely allowed, besides their **Lectures,** for their affore-said extra ordinarie Charge and practizes, ... 100li.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of the ciuill law,** who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, ... 100li.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of diuinitie,** who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, ... 100li.

Also there shalbe one **Lawier,** who shall reade the grownde of the **common lawes,** and shall draw the same, as neare as may be, into **Maximes,** as is done in the booke of the **ciuill lawes entituled de Regulis Iuris,** for the more facile teachinge of his **Awditorie.**

And also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**, not medling with plees or cunning poinctes of the law; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100li. [over 66li. 13s. 4d. struck out.]

My Reason.

It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne Case in law, and to haue some Iudgment in the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**; for thorough the want thereof the beste are oftentymes subiecte to the direction of farre their **Inferiors.**

Note.

I would haue this **Lawier** to traine the younger sorte of his hearers to some exercize therein, wherby they may the better grow to be able to put their owne Cases, and to vnderstand perfectly the offices aforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne of the law theare. ffor yf they desire more knowledg, the **Innes of cowrte** may suffize them.

[leaf 5] Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the french toung**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wage of 10li.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Italian toung**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10li.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Spanish toung**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the highe duche toung**, who shalbe yerely allowed for *the* same, ... 26li.

Also there shalbe one **M***aster* **of defence**, who shalbe principally expert in the **Rapier and dagger, the Sworde and tergat, the gripe of the dagger, the battaile axe and the pike**, and shall theare publiquely teach, who shall also haue a dispensation against the Statute of **Roages**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also there shalbe one who shall keepe a **dawncing and vawting schole**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of Musick**, and to play one the **Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne**, &c.; who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10li.

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a Steward, **cookes, Butlers,** and other necesary officers, ... 100li.

Also there shalbe yearely allowed for a **minister and clark,** 66li. 13s. 4d.

Also there shalbe one perfect **Harowlde of armes,** who shall teach noble men *and* gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of **Harrowldrie;** togeather with the keeping of a **Register** in the said **Achademy** of their discentes *and* **pedigrues;** and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26li.

Also there shalbe one keeper of the **Liberarie** of the **Achademy,** whose Charge shalbe to see the bookes there saffely kepte, to Cawse them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set, And shall keepe a **Register** of all the bookes in the said **Liberarie,** that he may geve accompte of them when the *Master* of the **Wardes,** or the **Rector of the Achademy** shall apoincte; and shalbe yearely allowed, ... 26li.

[leaf 5, back]

Note.

This **Keeper,** after every marte, shall Cawse the bringers of bookes into England to exhibit to him their **Registers,** before they vtter any to any other person, that he may pervse the same, and take Choyse of such as the **Achademie** shall wante, and shall make the *Master* of the **Wardes,** or the **Rector of the Achademy,** privy to his Choyse, vpon whose warrante the bookes so provided shalbe payed for. And there shalbe yearely allowed for the buying of bookes for the said **Liberary,** and other necessary instrumentes, ... 40li.

Note.

All **Printers in England** shall for ever be Charged to deliuer into the **Liberary of the Achademy,** at their owne Charges, one Copy, well bownde, of euery booke, proclamacion, or pamflette, that they shall printe.

Also there shalbe one **Treasorer of the Achademy,** who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100li.

Also there shalbe one **Rector of the said Achademy,** who shall make tryall of the nature and Inclinacion of the **wardes,** to thend that they may, by his direction, be employed principally in suche profession whereto their nature doth most conforme, the *Master* of the **wardes** being made privy therevnto; *and* shalbe yearely allowed 100li.

Also the *Master* of the **cowrte of wardes**, from tyme to tyme, shalbe the chiefest **gouernor** of this **Achademy,** becawse the oversight of wardes doth Chiefly belonge vnto him; *and* shalbe yearely allowed for the same ... ... 200li.

Also there shalbe geven in stocke for the furnishing of a **Liberarie** and Instrumentes apertaining to the same, Togeather with the buying of horses, as afforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this **Achademy,** ... ... 2000li.

The afforesaid whole yearely wages and Charges of this **Achademy** amownteth vnto ... ... } 2507li. 6s. 8d.

The whole yearely Charges for the Commons of the said **Readers, officers, and seruantes** in this **Achademy amownteth** vnto ... ... } 459li. 6s. 8d.

which maketh yearely in all ... ... 2966li. 13s. 4d.

Here wanteth levyes for the building or buying of howses for this **Achademy.**

Certaine orders to be obserued. [leaf 6]

All the fforesaid **publique Readers of arte and the common lawes** shall once within every six yeares set forth some new bookes in printe, according to their severall professions.

Also every one of those which shall publiquely teache any of the languages as afforesaid, shall once every 3 yeares publish in printe some **Translation** into the **English tounge** of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practized in the said **Achademy.**

All which bookes shall for ever be entituled as set forth by the gentlemen of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy,** wherby all the nations of the worlde shall, once every 6 yeares at the furthest, receaue greate benefitt, to your highnes immortall fame.

Also for ever, the 7th day of **September** and the 17th day of **Nouember, there shalbe a Sermon in the Achademy,** wherby the **Awditory** shalbe put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which meanes the tounge of man shall write for ever in the eares of the living, to the honour of the deade.

There are divers necessary thinges to be furder Considered of, all which I omitte vntill your Maiesty be resolved what to do herein.

The Comodities which will ensue by erecting this Achademy.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine vp their childeren within this **Realme** but eyther in **Oxford or Cambridge**, whereof this ensueth:

ffirst, being theare, they vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. ffor there is no other **gentlemanlike qualitie** to be attained.

Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawen to licentiousnes and Idlenes; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

[leaf 6, back] And wheareas in the vniu*er*sities men study onely **schole learninges**, in this **Achademy** they shall study matters of acc*i*on meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to **letters**, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, Then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman). And also the other vniu*er*sities shall then better suffize to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen,[1] taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapoincte [2]the poore[2] of their livinges and avauncemen*tes*.

Also all those gentlemen of the **Innes of cowrte** which shall not apply them selves to *th*e study of the lawes, may then exercize them selves in this **Achademy** in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen) abowte **London**, having good oportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte loose their times.

ffurther, wheareas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this **Realme** haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educac[i]ons, your Ma*iesty* may by order apoincte them to be brought vp during their minorities in this **Achademy**,[2] from xij to his full age[3], if he [be] a ge*n*tleman by the father of fiue dissentes, and to haue the pry*n*ses allowanse towar*des th*e same[2], whosoeu*er* haue the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearely dispend $13^{li.}$ $6^{s.}$ $8^{d.}$ Both **Plato and Licurgus**, withe other greate **Philosophors**, having bene of opinion that the

[1] See *Babees Book*, p. xxxvii. [2-2] Interlined by another hand.
[3] MS. ore ege.

educac*i*on of childeren should not altogeather be vnder the puissaunce of their fathers, but vnder the publique power and aucthority, becawse the publique haue therein more Intereste then their parent*es*. Wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in tymes paste knew nothing but to hallow a hownde or lure a hawke[1], which thing will much asswage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure[2] of wardship. ffor (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also (as yt were) killeth the sowle *and* darkeneth the eyes of reason with Ignorawnce. And when the best shall ordinarely be men of such rare vertue, Then the prince and Realme shall not so much from tyme to tyme be Charged, as they haue bene, in rewarding the well deservers. ffor honno*ur* is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe. Wheareas in tymes paste the poorest sorte were best able to deserve at the princ*es* handes, which, without great Charg*es* to the prince, could not be maintained. So that when theis thinges shalbe performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price. And then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieue to excell; which will bring a blessed emulac*i*on to England. It being also no smalle Comodity that the nobility of England shalbe therby in their youthes brought vp in amity and acquintaunce. And above all other, this chiefly is to be accompted of, that, by these meanes, all the best sorte shalbe trained vp in the knowledge of gods word (which is the onely fowndac[i]on of true obedience to the prince), who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

[leaf 7] O **noble prince**, that god shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely, frosen, Island into such everlasting honno*ur* that all the nations of the World shall knowe and say, when the face of an **English gentleman appeareth**, that he is eyther a **Sowldiour, a philosophor, or a gallant Cowrtier**; wherby in glory yo*ur* Ma*iesty* shall make yo*ur* sellf second to no prince living. ffor, as **Seneca** sayeth, **Cato**, by banishing Vice in **Rome**, did deserve more honno*ur* then **Scipio** did by conquering the **Carthagians**.

And wheareas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is onely renewed by history,—which is knowen but to a few **His-**

[1] See *Babees Book*, p. xiii. [2] altered from 'bondage.'

toriographers,—*your maiesty* shall not onely haue *your* share thereof, but also for evermore, once every .3. or 6. yeares at the most, fill the eyes of the world with new and chaunge of matter, wherby all sortes of **Studentes** shalbe alwaies put in minde of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**. And in the mean tyme, the pervsing of the old, and expectac[i]on for the new, shall occupy Continually eu*e*ry mannes tounge with **Queene Elizabethes fame**. So that *your maiesty*, being deade, shall make *your* sepulchre for ever in the mowthes of the livinge. Wherby, also, *your* highnes may saye of *your* predecessors as **Zenobia that famous Queene did to Awrelius Emperor of Rome**, which was to this effecte: "Thy Cowrte," sayeth she, "is replenished with Ignoraunce and many Vices, wheareas my Cowrte is full fraughted with vertue." Yea, and what further? By *your* highnes the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Achademy of **Philosophie and Chiualrie**. . . Among the **Lacedemonians** learning bare such price, that the ffather which gaue no learning to his Childe in his youth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his olde age. The **Kinges** of this **Realme** (supplying over their wardes the roames of their deceased parent*es*) haue the vse of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them vp in vertue, which for Conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

To conclude, by erecting this **Achademie**, there shalbe heareafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this **Realme** but good for some what, Wheareas now the most parte of them are good for nothinge. And yet therby the **Cowrte** shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby *your Maiesties* and **Successors cowrtes** shalbe for ever, in steade of a **Nurserie of Idlenes**, become a most noble **Achademy of Chiuallric pollicy and philosophie**, to *your* greate fame. And better it is to haue **Renowme** among the good sorte, then to be lorde over the whole world[1]. ffor so shall *your Maiesty* make *your* self to live among men for ever (wheareas all flesh hath but small continuaunce), and therwithall bringe youre selfe into goddes fauo*ur*, so farre as the benefitt*es* of good workes may prevaile.

[1] 'there being no such riches vnder heaven as to be well thought of,' struck out.

A Book of Precedence.

[*Harl. MS* 1440, *leaf* 11 (*old numbering* 8).]

The Copie of a Booke of Precedence of all estates *and* playcinge to ther degrees.

Cornellis van dalw.

A DUKE.

A Duke must goe after his creation, and not after his Dukedome; the Dutchesse his wife to goe according to the same; he to haue in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in eury place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same Com not to the ground by halfe a yarde; and likewyse a dutchesse may haue her Cloth of Estate, and a barones to beare vp hir trayne in her owne howse. A Duke may have a Cloth of Estate.

And there ought no Earle of Duty to washe with a Duke, but at the duke's pleasure.

Item. a Dukes Eldest sonn is Borne a Marquesse, and shall goe as a Marquisse, and weare as many poudringes[1] as a Marquisse, and haue his Assayes,[2] the Marquisse being present, saueing he shall goe beneath a Marquisse, and his A Duke's eldest son is a Marquis.

[1] POWDERINGS: Small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermine.—Halliwell. *Powderings*, certain Devices us'd for the filling up of any void space in carved Works, Writings, Escutcheons, &c., which last are sometimes said *To be powder'd with Ermins.*—Kersey's Phillips, 1706. (See p. 28.)

[2] Tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, 315.

wife beneath the marchionesse, And aboue all dukes daughters; but if so be that a duke haue a daughter which is his whole heyre, if she be the Eldest dukes daughter, Then she shall goe before and aboue the younger dukes Eldest sonns wyfe.

A Duke's daughter is a Marchioness.

Item. a dukes daughter is borne a Marchionesse, and shall weare as many Poudringes as a Marchionesse, Sauing she shall goe beneth all marchionesse[s], and all dukes Eldest sonnes wyves. They shall haue none assayes in the marchionesses presens; and if they be maryed to a barron, they shall goe according to the decree of there husband. And yf they be maried to a knight, or to men vnder the decree of a knight, then they are to haue place according to theyre Birthe.

Her rank when married.

A Duke's younger sons are Earls.

Item. all Dukes younger sonns be borne as Earles, and shall weare as many poudrings as an Earle, saueing they shall goe beneath all Earles and Marquises eldest sonns, and aboue all viscounts; and there wyues shall go beneath all Countisses and marquises daughters, and aboue all viscountesses next to Marquises daughters.

Item. all Dukes daughters shall goe all-one with a nother, soe that alwayes the Eldest Dukes Daughter go vpermost, vnlesse it be the Princes pleasure to the Contrary.

Of a Duke's creation.

Item. [at] the creation of a duke, he must haue on him his surcoate and hoode, and he must be lead betweene 2 Dukes, if there be any present; if[1] not, a Marquisse or 2; and for want of a Marquis, an Erle: some[2] what before him on the right hand shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the Capp of Estate, with the Coronnett[3] on it; and on the other syde against him shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the rod of goulde: and directly before the duke *that* is to be created must goe a Marquis of[4] the greatest Estate, to beare the sowrd in the scabert by the poynt, with the girdle thereto belonging, the pommell

[1] MS is [2] MS sonn [3] MS Coromnett [4] MS or

vpward; and before him an Erle to bare the Mantell or Robe of Estate, lyinge alonge vpon his armes. All these Lords that *doth seruisse, must be in ther Robes of Estate. Item. His stile is proclamed twise, the Largesse thrise. {* leaf 11, bk} {MS repeats *that*}

A MARQUESSE, HIS WYFE, AND CHILLDREN.

A Marquesse must goe after his Creation, and not after his marquisate, and the Marchionesse his wife according to the same; he to haue a Cloth of Estate in his owne howse, so that it hange a Yarde aboue the ground; and[1] he to haue it [in] every place savinge in a Dukes howse or in the Princes presence. And he to haue none Assayes in a dukes presence, but his cuppes couered; neyther may the marchionesse haue her gowne born in a Dutchesses presens but with a gentile-man,—ffor it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man; but in her owne howse she may haue her gowne borne vp with a knights wife: also, ther ought no viscount to wash with a Marquesse, but at the pleasure of a marquisse.

A Marquis to go by his creation.

A Marchioness' train, before a Duchess, to be borne by a man, and not a woman.

Item. a Marquesse Eldest sonn is borne an Earle, and shall goe as an Earle, and haue his assaye in an Earles presence, and were as mayny Powdrings as an Earle, saueing he shall goe beneath an Earle, and aboue all dukes younger sonns. And his wife shall goe beneth all Countesses, and aboue all Marquises daughters. But If the Marquesse daughter be his heire, If she be the Elder marquises daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Marquises Eldest sonnes wyues.

A Marquis's eldest son is an Earl,

Item. a Marquises daughter is borne a Countisse, and shall weare as mayny powdringes as a Countes, Saueing she shall goe beneath all Countesses and marquises Eldest sonns wyues; but they shall haue no assayes in any Countisses presence. And If they be maried to a Barron, or to any other aboue a barron, then they shall goe according to the

his daughter a Countess;

her rank when married.

[1] MS an

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degre of there Husbands; and If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they shall goe and haue place according to there birth.

A Marquis's younger sons are Viscounts.

Item. Marquises younger sonns be borne as viscounts, and shall weare as mayny Powdrings as a viscount, saueing onely they[1] shall goe beneath all viscounts and all Earles Eldest sonns, and aboue all barons; and there wyues shall goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles daughters, and aboue all barronesses.

Item. all Marquises daughters to goe one with a nother, so that alwayes the Eldest Marquises daughter goe vppermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrary.

Of the creation of a Marquis.

Item. at the Creation of a marquisse, he must haue one him his surcourt[2] and hoode, and Lad by a Duke and Marquisse; the sword borne by an Earle, the cappe and Sirculey[3] borne by an Earle.

[leaf 12]

AN EARLE, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

An Earle shall goe after his Creation, and not after his Erldome, And the Countisse his wife shall goe according to the same, But he may haue none assayes in a Marquesses presence, but his Cuppe Covred; neither may any Countesse haue her gowne borne in a marchionesses presence with a gentle-woman, but with a gentile-man. Also an Earle may haue in his owne howse a Cloth of Estate, which shall be fringed rounde about, without any pendant. And a barron ought not to washe with any Earle, but at his pleasure.

No Earl to have assays before a Marquis.

Barons not to wash with Earls.

An Earl's eldest son is a Viscount.

Item. an Earles Eldest sonn is borne a viscount, and shall goe as a viscount, and shall weare as mayny poudrings as a viscount; but he shall goe beneath all viscounts, and his wife beneath all viscountesses, and aboue all Earles daughters. But If she be the Earles daughter and heire, and the Elder Earles daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Earle Eldest sonnes wyfe.

[1] MS she [2] *for* surcoat [3] ? circlet, coronet.

Item. all Earles daughters be borne as viscountisses, and shall were as mayny poudrings as a viscountesse ;[1] yet shall they goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles eldest sonns wyues. And If they be maried to a Barron, or to Any other aboue a Barron, than they shall go after the decree of there Housbands ; And If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they to goe and haue place according to ther birthe. Earls' daughters are Viscountesses;

Item. all Earles youngest sonnes be borne as Barrons, and shall were as mayny powdrings as a Baron, saueing they shall goe beneth all Barrons and viscountesses Eldest sonnes, and aboue all barronetts ; and there wyues shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscount*es* Daughters, and aboue all Baneretts wyues. their youngest sons, Barons.

Item, all Erles daughters to goe, on w*i*th a nother, the Elder Earles daughter to goe vpermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrarye.

A VISCOUNT, HIS WIFE, AND CHILLDEREN. [leaf 12, back]

A viscount must goe after his creation, and not after his viscounts[y] ; and the visscountesse[2] his wife must haue place according to the same ; and he may haue in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden vnder his Cupp when he drinketh, but none assaye taken ;[3] he may haue Caruer and Sewer, w*i*th there Towells, when they sett there seruisse on the table, the viscount being sett at the table. And all viscountisses may haue there gownes borne w*i*th a man in the presence of the Countes. Also they may haue Trauers[4] in there owne howses. A Viscount may not have assays taken.

Item. viscounts eldest Sonnes be borne as Barrones, and shall weare as many Powdring*es* as a barron, saueing Viscounts' eldest sons are Barons;

[1] MS viscountesses [2] MS visscountesses

[3] See Russell's Boke of Norture in *Babees Book*, p. 196, l. 1195-8 : tasting and credence (or assaying) belong to no rank under that of an Earl.

[4] ? *Traverse*, a moveable screen, a low curtain. *Trawes*, State Papers, i. 257. (Halliwell.)

he shall goe beneath all barrons, and aboue all Erles younger sonnis; And his wyfe shall goe beneath all Barronesses, and aboue all viscounts daughters.

their daughters, Baronesses; their

Item. Viscounts daughters [be] borne as Barronesses, and shall weare as many powdrings as a Baronesse; saueing she shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscounts eldest sonns wyues. And yf they be maryed to a Barron, they shall goe after the degree of there husband; and If they be maryed to a knight, or to any vnder the degree of a knight, then they to go and haue place according to there birth.

younger sons, Bannerets.

Item. Viscountes younger sonns shall goe as Banneretts, and were as many powdrings as a banneret, saueing they[1] shall goe beneath all barenets.

Item. viscounts daughters to goe one with a nother, so that the Elder viscounts daughters do goe vppermost, vnlesse the princes plesure be to the Contrary.

[leaf 13] A BARON, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Of Barons.

A Barron must go after his Creation, so that the Eldest barron goe vppermost; and the barronesse his wife must goe according to the same; and they may haue there gownes borne vpp with a man in the presence of a viscountesse. And a barron may haue the Couer of his cupp holden vnderneath when he drinketh.

Barons' eldest sons are Bannerets.

Item. all Barrons Eldest sonns shall goe and haue place as a Bannerett, and shall haue the vper hand of [a] Bannerett, because his ffather is a peere of the Realme. And all Barrons younger sonns shall goe aboue all batcheler knights, because there ffather is a peere of the Realme.

Of Barons' daughters.

Item. all Barones daughter[s] shall goe aboue all Bannerets[2] wyues, and shall weare as much as a bannerets[3] wyfe, and shall haue the vpper hand of all bannerets wyues. And If they marry husbands vnder the degree of a knight, then shall they goe and haue place vnder all knightes wyues.

[1] MS she [2] MS Bamnerets [3] MS bamerets

Item. all barrons daughters to goe one with a Nother, so that alwayes the Eldest barrones daughter goe vppermost.

memorandum. a lord made by writt, and haueing no new somones by writt, hath no place in the parliament howse, but shall retayne and keepe the name of Lord during his life, by Reason of the proclamation and publication of his name in Court Royall, whether the Children [1] of shuch lords shall haue place as the Children of other barrons, or how they shall take there places. Lords made by writ have no place in Parliament.

Item. a knights wife may haue her kirtle borne in her owne howse, or in any other place, so it be not in her betters presence: and she may haue her sheete in her owne howse.

Be it remembered, that if any of all the degrees aboue written com or be desended of the blood Royall, thay ought to S[t]and and haue place aboue all those that be of the degrees whereof they be themselues [2]: as a duke of the blood Royall aboue all dukes, and so the like in all other degrees, vnlesse the princes knowne plesure be to the Contrayry. Blood Royal first.

Item. there are 4 sortes of wayes to make barrons, ether by writt or Creation:— The 4 ways of making Barons.

1. The first and most vsiall, when they are called by writt to the parliament by there owne surname, as Lord Latymer of latymer.

2. when they be created by a Nother name in the right of there wif or mother, as pawlet Lord St. Iohn.

3. The 3d when they be created by the name of some Castle, howse, or manner, as Butlet baron of weme.

4. The 4d is, when [3] they be created by some name of pleasure as the kinge shall best like, as Ratclif Lord Aegremont.

Although they be diuersly Called, yet are they all of like calleing; and though in shew some of there dignities [leaf 13, back] All Barons equal.

[1] MS Childrem [2] See *Babees Book*, p. 190, 285. [3] MS whem

be from the howse, yet is the right and dignitye in the *per*sonn of the noble man; for although he sell or exchange [1] that cometh the name of his dignitie of, yet shall he still for euer be called barron of the same place, and haue his seate and voyce in the *par*liament by the same name he was ffirst called and Created; as, for example,—

Barons keep their name tho' they sell their estate.

The Lo*rd* Audleigh of Audlegh and helighe Castle sould Bothe [2] thour & thorn [3], and yet is the Barron as he was before.

[leaf 12 back, at foot] The Lo*rd* Clifford of Clifford exc[h]aunged his castell of Clifford, w*i*th other lands therefore, w*i*th king Edward the first, for the hono*ur* of Craven and other lands there, and yet is the Lo*rd* Clifford as before.

Arthur Lo*rd* Grey of wilton sould wilton, and bought other lands, and yet is the barron of wilton notw*i*thstanding.

[leaf 13, back] THE PROCEDING TO THE HIGH COURT OF PERLIAMENT AT WESTM*INSTER*, FROM HER HIGHNES ROYALL PALLACE OF WHITEHALL.

ffirst, mesingers of the Chamber
Gentilemen 2 and 2
Esquires 2 and 2
Esquires for the bodye
The 6 Clarkes of Chancery
Clarkes of the signet
Clarkes of the priue seale
Clarkes of the Councell
The maysters of the Chancery
Batcheler knights
Knights Bannerets
The Trumpeters
Sergiants at the law

[1] MS exchance [2] MS Bethe
[3] Is it 'tower & thorn,' or 'the one & the other'?

The queenes Sergeant alone
The queenes Attorny and Soliciter togeather
Pursiuants of Armes
The Barrons of the exchequer
Iustices of the kinges benche and of the Common place
The Lord Cheife Baron togeather
The Lord Cheife Iustice of the Comon pleasse
The Lord Cheife Iustice of England and the máster of the Rowles togeather
Knights of the bathe
Knights of the priuate Councell
Knights of the garter

¶ He that Carieth the queenes Cloake and hat.

Barones younger sonns
Viscounts younger sonns
Barrons Eldest sonns
Earles younger sonns
Viscounts Eldest sonnes
Marquises younger sonnes
Earles Eldest sonns
Dukes younger sonns
Marquises eldest sonns
Dukes Eldest sonn
The Chefe Secratary, no barron
The Tresurer and Comptrouller
All the barrons in there Roabes, two and 2, the youngest for-most
All Bishopps in there Robes, two *and* 2, the youngest ffor-most
The Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlayne togeather, if they be Barrons and l[i]ke degree
¶ Heraldes of Armes on the syde
Viscounts in there Robes, the youngest formost

[leaf 14]

Earles in there Roabes, 2 and 2, youngest formost
Marquises in there Roabes
Dukes in there Roabes
The Lord President of the Councell
and the Lord Priuie Zeale
¶ Clarentius and Norrey kings of Armes.
The Lord Chancelor and the Lord Tresurer of England togeather
The Archbishop of Canterbury and the 'Arc[hbi]shop of Yorke togeather
Sergeantes at Armes
Garter Principall King of Armes
The Capp of Estate borne by an Earle, and with him on the left hand the Earle Marshall of England with the gilte rodde
The Sworde borne by an Earle
Then the queenes Maiestye on horsbacke, or in chariott, in her Robes of Estate, her trayne borne by a Dutchesse or Countisse
The Lord Chamberlayne and vice Chamberlayn on each side of the queenes Maiestie
Then the Pentioners with ther poleaxes on each side of her Maiestie
And a litle behinde her the Master of the horsse, leading a Spare horse.
Then Laydyes and gentileweomen, according to there Estates, 2 and 2
Then the Captayne of the Guard, with all the guard following him, 2 and 2.

Be it noted, that in proceding to the parliament, these 5 bishopps following keepe there playces ordinariley, whoso is in them, viz.—

The Archbishopp of Canterbury } so placed by there
The Archbishopp of Yorke, 2 } dignitie
The Bishopp of London, 3

The Bishopp of Durham, 5

The Bishop of winchester, 4 { the prelate of winchester heare

(The bishopps of London, winchester, and Durham, so placed by act of parliament.)

All other bishoppes take there places according to there creations.

THE PLACEING OF GREATE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN ANNO XXXj HENRICUS OCTAUI [A.D. 1539] [leaf 14, back]

These 4, viz.

The Lord vicegarent is to be placed on the bishops side, aboue all

1. The lord Chancelor
2. The Lord Tresurer
3. The Lord President of the Councell
4. The Lord Priuy seale

Being of the decree of A Baron or aboue, shall sit in the perlament and all Assembles of Councell, and aboue all Dukes not being of the blood Royall, viz.,

The kinges Brother, Vncle, or Nephew.

These Sixe, viz.,

1. The lord C[h]amberlayne of England
2. The lord Constable of England
3. The lord Marshall of England
4. The lord Admirall of England
5. The lord Greate Master or Lord Steward of the kinges howse
6. The kings Chamberlayne

Are to be playsed in all assemblyes of Councell after the lord priuate seale, according to there degrees and estates; viz., if he be a barron, aboue all barrons; if he be an Earle, aboue all Earles.

The Kinges Secretary

being a barron of perliament, shall sitt aboue all barrons; and if he be of higher degree then a barron, he shall sit and be playced according to his degree.

If any of these xi officers aboue mentioned be not of the degre of a barron of Parli*ament*, whereby he hath not power to assendt or dissent in the high Court of Perliament, Then he or they are to sitt vppon the vppermost wolsack in the p*ar*liament Chamber, the one aboue the other, in like order as is aboue specified.

THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT FUNIRALLS, ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE AND ESTATE OF THE DEFUNCT.

A King to haue mourners	xv
A Queene or a prince	xiij
A Duke or a Marquisse	xi
An Earle or a Viscount	ix
A Barron	vij
A Knight	v
An Esquire or gentelemen	3

LLIUERYES FOR NOBLE MEN AND GENTILEMEN AT THE PARLIAMENT, OF EURY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS ESTATE.

A Duke to haue for his gowne, sloppe, and mantell, a xvi yards, and liuery for 2 [?] xviij seruau*n*ts.

A Marquesse for his gowne, slope, and mantell, xvj yards, and liuery for xvj seruants.

An Archbishop, as a Duke.

An Earle for his gowne, sloope, and Mantell, xiiij yards, and liuery for xij Seruants.

A viscount for his Gowne an*d* Mantle, xij yards, and liuery for x seruants.

A barron or Barranett, being knight of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, viij yardes, and Liuery for viij Seruants.

A knight, vi yardes, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

An Esquire for the bodye, as a knight, and liuery for iij Seruants.

All other Esquires and Gentilemen, v yardes, and liuery for 2 seruants.

Be it Remembred, that none may weare a hood vnder the degree of an Esquire of the Kinges houshold, but only tippets of a quarter of a yarde broade; and in tyme of need they to weare hoodes.

Nether may any weare hoodes with a Rowle slyued ouer there heades, or other wayes being of that fashon, vnder the decree of a barron or an Erles sonn, an here bit[1] only without Rowle.

[WHAT SERVANTS NOBLEMEN MAY KEEP.]

A Duke may haue a Tresuror, A Chamberlayne, 4 greate hushers, A steward, A Comptrouller, A master of his howse.

An Erle may haue a secretary, A Comptrouller, A Steward, 2 great hushers, A gentile-man for his howse.

A Baron may haue A Steward, A Clarke of his kitchin, A yeoman of his horse, A gentileman husher (but Couered, and not bare-Hedded when he goeth abrode), And a Yeamon Husher, A grome of his Chamber, A yemon husher of his hall, and his grome, (but no Marshall,) A Sewer Armed, A Caruer, (but vnmaried,) A foreman [?] his cup couered, t[h]oughe in the presence of his better, but no assay taken at any tyme; his foote Carpit single.

[A BARONESS'S RIGHTS.]

A Baronesse Lying in Childbed may haue single carpetts round about her bead, but no foot sheete, with degrees nor with-out.

[1] ? a hair bit

A Baronesse may haue no trayne borne; but haueing a goune with a trayne, she ought to beare it her selfe. Quere, whether she may haue any trayne borne to the greate chamber doore in Court, or noe.

Her gentileman husher goeing before her abroade, ought to goe vncouered.

LIUERYES FFOR NOBLE WOMEN AT THE INTERTAYNEMENT OF ANY GREATE ESTATE.

A DUTCHESSE.

for her selfe . . . . . xvi yards
for her trapper of her horse, of veluet . xvi yardes
and of Cloth . . . . . v yards
for her 3 gentle weman,[1] 5 yardes a peece, fiftene yardes xv
for her 3 gentlemen . . . . . xv yards
ffor her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, 4 kerchifes
And Liuery for 12 seruants.

A COUNTISSE.

for her selfe . . . . . 12 yardes
for her traper . . . . . 5 yardes
for her 3 gentilewemen . . . . . 15 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, on barbe, one frontlet, 3 kerchiefes
for her gentle weoman, of Lynen all points as before
a Liuery for 8 seruants.

A BARRONESSE.

for her selfe . . . . . 12 yards
for her tray[er] . . . . . 5 yardes
for her 2 gentleweomen . . . . . 10 yardes
for her 2 gentlemen . . . . . 10 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, and 2 kerchiefes

[1] ? '&' struck out here

for her 2 gentleweomen, 2 mantlets, 2 barbes, 2 frontletts, and one kerchief.
for her owne gentileweoman, 2 elles of fyne holland,
And liuery for 4 seruants.

LADYES AND GENTLE WEOMEN.

for her selfe . . . . . 6 yards
for her trayer . . . . . 4 yardes
for her gentle weomen . . . . . 3 yards
for her selfe, on Mantelet, one barbe, one frontlet, and 2 kerchifes
And liuery for 4 seruants.

THE ORDER OF ALL ESTATES.

A Dukes Eldest sonnes be Earles, and all the rest of his sonns are Lords, with the Addition of there Christen name, as Lord Thomas, Lord Henry.

Item. if the Dukes Eldest sonn, being an Earle, haue yssue male, his Eldest son shall be called lord of a place or barrony, and all his other sonns no Lordes but in Curtisy; but all his daughters be Ladyes.

The Dukes Eldest sonn, being of the blood Royall, shall sit or goe aboue a marquesse.

All marquises Eldest sonnes are named no Earles, but lord of a place or barrony, without any Adission of his Christen name; and all his other bretheren, Lordes, with the Addition of there Christoned name.

A Marquesse Eldest sonn of the blood Royall shall sit or goe aboue an Earle.

An Earles Eldest sonn is called a lord of a place or Baron[y], and all his other sonnes no lords, but all his daughters are Ladyes

Eearles Eldest sonn, if he be of the blood Royall, shall [leaf 15, back]
sit and goe aboue a Viscount. If he be not, the[n] aboue a barron.

A viscounts Eldest sonn is no Lord, nor no other of his sonns, nor none of his daughter[s] ladyes.

A viscounts eldest sonn, yf he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe a-boue A baron; yf not, then a-boûe a barons sonn; and so of all other dignityes.

A slope is a morning Cassock for Ladyes and gentile wemen, not open before.

A surcoate is a mor[n]ing garment mad lyke a Close or straight-bodied gowne, which is worne vnder the mantell; the same for a Countesse must haue a trayne before, A nother behind: for a baronesse no trayne.

The trayne before to be narrow, not exceeding the brea[d]th of 8 inches, and must be trussed vp before vnder the girdle, or borne vppon her left Arme.

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p. 13, *Poudringes;* p. 15, *Marchioness's train.* Lord Leconfield writes: "So far as I can learn from others, it is not usual to carry out at State Ceremonies now, the rules laid down in this Book of Precedence with regard to the bearing of the trains of a Marchioness and Duchess.

"The *Powderings* are, I am informed, bands of ermine, called also *Miniver;* but I cannot learn what number is allotted to each order of Peers. They are worn on the Cape of the Robe."

Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, writes: "the *Powderings* are surely the same as 'the guards of ermine' in Clark's *Heraldry*, edited by J. R. Planché (Bell and Daldy, 1866). p. 224, 'A Duke's mantle ..... has only 4 guards of ermine with a gold lace above each, that of the Prince having 5.' 'The mantle which a duke wears *at the Coronation* ..... is doubled with ermine below the elbow, and spotted with 4 rows of spots on *each* shoulder.'

"From the same book it appears that

a Marquess has	$3\frac{1}{2}$	guards	on	the	shoulder
an Earl	3	„	„	„	
a Viscount	$2\frac{1}{2}$	„	„	„	
a Baron	2	„	„	„	

And that the Coronation robes

of a Marquess have	4	rows of spots	on	the right	shoulder
	3	„	„	on the left	„
of an Earl	3	„	„	on each	„
of a Viscount	3	„	„	on the right	„
	2	„	„	on the left	„
of a Baron	2	„	„	on each	„

The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time.[1]

[*MS Cott. Julius B. xii. leaf 7, back—leaf 8.*]

This Is the ordyn*a*unce And guyding that p*er*teyneth vnto the worshippfull Beryyng of Any Astate, to be don*e* in man*er* And fo*ur*rme ensuyng.

ffurst, to be offerde A swerde, by the moost worshipfull of the kyn of the saide Estate, And ony[2] bee p*re*sente; elle*s* by the moost worshipfull Man that is present there, on) his p*ar*tie.

Item, In like wise his Shelde, his Coote of worship, his helme *and* creste.

Item, to be hadde A banere of the Trinitie, A ban*er* of oure Lady, A bannere of Seint george, A baner of the Seynt that was his aduoure, And A Baner of his Armes/ Item A penon of his Armes; Item A Standarde, *and* his beste therein: Item A getoñ[3] of his devise w*ith* his worde.

[1] This heading is in a late hand. [2] MS only

[3] "Euery baronet, euery estat aboue hym shal have hys baner displeyd in y^e^ feild, yf he be chyef capteyn; euery knyght, his penoun; euery squier or gentleman, his *getoun* or standard, &c. . . . Item, Y^u^ meyst lawfully fle fro y^e^ standard & *getoun*, but not fro y^e^ baner ne penon. . . . Nota, a stremer shal stand in a top of a schyp, or in y^e^ forcastel: a stremer shal be slyt, & so shal a standard, as welle as a *getoun:* a *getoun* shal berr y^e^ lenght of ij yardes, a standard of iii or 4 yardes, & a stremer of xii. xx. xl. or lx. yardes longe." MS. Harl. 838, quoted by Sir F. Madden in *Archæol.* xxii. 396-7. He adds that Sir H. Nicolas, in the Retrosp. Rev. N.S. i. 511, quotes MS. Harl. 2258 and Lansd. leaf 431, the former of which states, "Euery standard & *Guydhome* [whence the etymology of the word is obvious (? F.)] to have in the chief the crosse of St George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the creste or supporter, with the posey, worde, and devise of the owner . . . . a *guydhome* must be two yardes and a halfe, or three yardes longe." But in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 327, is a bill, with "Item, a *gyton* for the shippe of viij yerdis long, poudrid full of raggid staves; for the lymmyng and workmanship, ij s." *Ret. Rev.* i. 511, *ib.*

Item. A doubble valance Aboute the herce, both aboue And byneith̄, with his worde And his devise written̄ therine.

Item, xij Sc[oc]hons of his Armes to bee sett vpon̄ the barves withoute And within the herse, And iij dosen̄ penselles to stande abouen̄ vpon̄ the herse Amonge the lightes.

Item, to be ordeignede as many scochons as be pilers In the Chirch̄e; And Scochons to bee sett In the iiij quarters of the saide chirch̄e, as best is to be sette by discrecion̄.

Item, as many Torch̄es as the saide Astate was of yeres of Age; And on̄ euery torch̄e A scochon̄ hanging; And the berers of the torches In blakk'.

Item, it is to bee ordeignede standing .v. officers of Armes Aboute the saide herse, that Is to say, one byfore the saide herse, bering the cote of Armes worsh̄ip, And he standing at the hede in the mydewarde of the saide hers. The ij^{de} stonding on̄ the righ̄t Side of the herse in the fore fronte, bering his Swerde. The iij^{de} stonding on̄ the lifte Side of the saide herse, bering his helmet *and* creste; The iiijth on̄ the Righ̄t Side of the saide hers, in the Nethere parte of the hers, bering his baner of Armes; And the vth standing on̄ the lifte side, In the nethere parte, he bering his penon̄, So standing tilł the offering. And the baners of the trinitie, oure lady, Seinct george, And the baner of his Aduoure[1] to bee sett Aboue In parties of the saide Hers, And his standarde also.

Item. to bee ordeynede certeyne clothes of golde for the ladies of his kyn̄ being within the saide hers; And they to offrer' the saide clothes of golde.

Item, a certeyne of Innocentes clothed In white, euery Innocent bering A Taper in his hande.

Item, the hors of the saide estate, trappede with his Armes; And a man of armes, being of his kinne, vpoñ the same hors, or elles eny other mān of worsh̄ip in his name, hauyng In his hande A Spere, Swhirde, or' Axe, so to be presentede to the offering in the Chirch̄e with ij worsh̄ipfułł men, oon̄ gooing on̄ that oon̄ Side of the hors,

[1] Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his *avowrye*. Lansd. MS cited by Douce in *Archæologia*, xvii. 296, and explained by him '*Avowrye*, cognizance, badge, distinction.' See p. 33, below, l. 6.

And that other' oñ that other' Side of the hors, And a man leding the same ħors.

Item, the heire of the saide estate, after he hath̄ offrede, shall̄ Stande vpon the lifte Side of the preste Receyving the Offering of the Swerde, helme, *and* Creste, Ban*er* of Armes, Cote of worsħip, And penoñ.

Item, ij men of worsħip to stonde oñ the same Side of the p*re*ste, holding A baso*n*, with̄ therin for the offering.

A Funeral in Popish times.

[*Ashmole MS* 837, *art. vi. leaf* 133-9, *written in the time of Charles I. or II.*]

The manner of Ordering of ebery man att ye settyng forth of the Cors, and how ebery man shall goe after ye estate and Degree that they bee of, in dew order. The order of the procession is :

First, The Orders of Freres as they bee accustomed. 1. Friars.
Then the monkys and Chanons; after them the 2. Monks.
Clarkys; then the Priests; and then they of [the] 3. Clerks. 4. Priests.
Church where ye Body shalbe buried must have the 5. Church-attendants.
*pre*eminence to goe nearest the Corse within their
juri[s]diction. Then ye Prœlats that bee in Pontifica- 6. Prelates.
libus; Then sertayne gent*lemen* in Dowle,[1] their hood 7. Men in black.
vppon their sholders; Then the Chaplyn or Chaplyns 8. Chaplain.
of the defunct; next them the Overseers; Then the 9. Overseers.
execut*ours* weryng their hoods[2] on their Heddes, going 10. Executors.
in good Order, ij *and* ij. Then a gentylman in a 11. Banner-bearers.
mourning habit, with a hood on his face, to bere ye
Banner of his Armes, if hee bee not vnder ye degree of
a Baneret; and if hee bee but a Bachel*our* Kn*ight*, hee
to have but a Penon of his Armes, and a guidon with his
Creste, And a paust (*sic*) writyng therein, and ye Crose
of S*aint* George. * In ye first quarter the Banarette to [* leaf 133, back.]
have his Standard made in likewyse, with his Crest,
the Bannor or Pennon on ye right side before the Corps,
and the Standard or guidon on the other side before the
Corps, and ye Herald of Armes betweene them, a space 12. Herald.
before theme. Then the Corps and 4 Banners of 13. The Corpse, and four gentle-

[1] mourning. Cf. 'mourning habit,' 6 lines down.
[2] MS has 'Heddes on their hoods.'

sanctes[1] att the fower Corners, borne by 4 gentilmen in mourning habattes, with hoddys on their faces, Te one of the Trynity att y^e^ Hede, on y^e^ right side; the other, of our Lady, att the Hede on the other side; The third, of the Armes of *Saint* George, att y^e^ Feet on the ryght side; The 4^th^, of his avowry[2], of the other syde: Then next after the Corps, the Chiefe mourn*our* alone, and the other mourn*our*s to goe two *and* two, ceartayne space one from another; and next theyme the greatest statys, and a space after theyme all other to follow as ser*vantes*, and theyme that will . and when y^e^ Corps co*m*myth, where y^e^ shall remayne, att the West dore of the Church, A prælat shall sens the *Corps, which shall do the devyne service; then sixe of theyme of y^e^ place, being prestys or religious, whither they bee, bere y^e^ Corps, or else so many gentylmen; and att y^e^ 4 Corners of the rych Cloth, fower of the greatest estates of the sayd Church must bee supportyng of y^e^ iiij Corners, as if they bare him; and so had into the Quier, where must bee a goodly herse well garnished with Light*es*, pencell*es*, and scochyns of his Armes; and if hee bee an Earle, hee must have a Cloth of Magesty, w*i*th a Vallance fryngyd; and if hee bee a Knight Banarett, hee may have a vallance fryngyd, and a Bachelour Knight none. The sayd herse must bee raylyd about, and hangyd w*i*th blake Cloth; and the Grownd within the Rayles must bee coveryd with blake Cloth; And the fourmes that the mourners do lene vppon within the Rayles; the Chiefe morner att the Head, the other morner att the sydes; and the Helme, Crest, wreth, and mantyll must bee att the Hede vppon the bere, the shild over the left syde, and y^e^ sword on the right side; The *Cote of Armes on the bere, the banner*es* to be holdyn without the rayles, in forme as they wente; The Herauld to stand

men bearing 4 banners.

14. Chief Mourner.

15. Other Mourners.

16. Nobles.

17. Servants.

At the west door, the corpse is censed,

[* leaf 134]

then borne into the Quire, where is a herse, with lights,

hung with black cloth.

[* leaf 134, back]

[1] saints. MS sancles.

[2] See p. 30, note.

att the Hedde without the rayles, weryng the Kings Cote of Armes. The derge don, the *prelates* and pontificalles to Fence the Corps within the rayles, and all the Covente standing about y^e^ Herse, without the rayles, singing diuerse antems; and att every Kyrie lyson, one to say with an high voice for y^e^ sowle A Pater noster: the sayd morneres to bee gon their way before that the Seremonyes bee don: then the iiij banneres to bee borne to the grave, but nothing else, thén to bee sett agayne att y^e^ Herse till over the morow that y^e^ Masses bee sayd: The executoris must see y^e^ buryng of the Corps; the Helme, Crest, shilde, Coote of Armes, and swerde, must bee taking away, and sitt apon the high Awter, till over the morow att y^e^ massis; then to bee sette over y^e^ bere.

After the Dirge, the clergy surround the Corpse,

sing anthems, and say prayers.

The 4 Banners are borne to the grave;

the Executors see the Corpse buried.

[leaf 135]

The manner att the Offering att the interrement of Noble-men.

Next morning all the mourners hear Mass, and make their offerings.

First in y^e^ morning betymes, Masse of our Lady bee [said], the banners to bee holdyn, the helme, Childe,[1] sword, the Cote of Armes, to bee layd vppon y^e^. bere in dew order, and the morners in there places: Att the offering tyme the chéife morner, accompanyd with all the other, to goe forth att y^e^ hede, att the left hede of the herse, and none to offer but y^e^ chiefe mourner att that masse, and hee to offer iijs iiijd, and then to returne, on the other side, to his place that hee came fro; the harald weryng his Cote if the mourners bee not present att y^e^ sayd masse; The executores to goe in like mannour to y^e^ offeryng, and none to offer but one of theyme, and then to goe to their places that they came fro.

The Chief Mourner offers 3s. 4d.

The Executors offer one by one.

The 2nd Mass is of the Trinity.

The second masse of the trynite att y^e^ offering likewise, as before fanyng.[2] That hee shall offer 5s; and the third masse must bee of *Requiem), and that to bee song

[* leaf 136, back]

[1] Shield. [2] not 'sauyng'? (G. P.)

by y^e^ noblest p*r*elat Pontificalibus. The chefe morn- The Chief Mourners offer 7*s.* 9*d.* for
ere*s*, accompanyd as before, shall offer for the masse the mass-penny.
pene vijs viiijd; then to their places as they came fro,
att every tyme; the Heraulde or Heraulds there beyng,
weryng their Maste*r*e*s* Cote of Armes, going before the
morners to and fro the offeryng, and so to bring theyme
to their places agayne on) the other side; and the sayd
officers of Armes to stand without the rayles att the
Hede.

Item, there must bee offeryd the Cote of Armes by The deceased's Coat of Arms,
two of the gretyst gentylmen.

Item, too other to offer his swerd, the pomell and sword,
the Crosse foreward.

Item, ij to offer his Helme and Crest, and if hee helm and crest, are offered.
bee of y^e^ degree of a Earle, then a Knight rydyng on a If he was an Earl,
Corser trapyd with the Armes of y^e^ defunct, the sayd
Knight armyd att all peces savyng the hede, having in
his hand a battle-axe, the poynt downeward, led by
*twey too other Knight*e*s* from the west dore of the [* leaf 137]
Church tyll hee came to the dext.[1] in the quire, the
officer or offycers att Armes going before hym; and
there the sayd Knight to alight, and the sexton there to
take y^e^ Horse as is fee, and the Knight to bee ledd to his horse goes as the Sexton's fee,
the offeryng, and there to offer y^e^ axe, and the poynt and his axe to the church.
downeward; then y^e^ sayd Knight to bee convayd into
the revestre, and there to bee vnarmyd.

Then the rest of the mornyrs to goe, too and too, to
the offeryng; and so to their placys.

Also, yf it bee an Earle, there must bee too gentyl- For an Earl too,
men to bryng too Clothes of bawdkyn from the one
syde of the quire, and deliver them to the Herald,
which shall deliver them to too of y^e^ gretest estatys,
which must offer theyme, the lowest estate first, and palls, or cloths of gold, must be offered.
then the other, some men) calle*s* this Clothys 'pawlle*s*,'
and sume 'Clothys of gold,' which shall remayne in y^e^

[1] desk :—the Litany or fald-stool.

Lastly, all offer that will.

[* leaf 137, back] Churche; then all the othyr to offer that wyll,[1] the gretyst estatys to *offyr first, next after the executores. The offering don, the sermon to begyn; and att y^e^ last end of the masse, Att 'Verbum Caro,' the banner of Armes or pennon shalbe offeryd, as y^e^ state is of degre.

The Nombre of morners, after y^e^ degree of the defunct.

A King has 15 Mourners,

The King to have xv. A Earle to have ix.
A Duke to have xiij. A Baron to have vij.

and a Knight 5.

A Marcus to have xj. A Knight to have v.

Sytting of Noblemen.

Blood royal gives precedence to a noble.

A Dukes sonn *and* heire, beyng of the blood royall, shalbe sett above A Marquis; and if hee bee not of y^e^ blood Royall, hee shall sitt above an Earle; And an Erles eldest sonn, if hee bee of blood ryall, shall sitt above a Vicount; and if hee bee not of blood riall, hee shall sitt above a Baron.

[* leaf 138] Ladies take their husbands' rank.

*And as for all Ladyes and gentylwomen: to bee sytt after the degree of their husbandes; and if any of the Ladyes or gentylwomen bee of the blood ryall, the King may command them att his plesure.

Liberyes for Noblemen att Interyments, ebery man acordyng to his eastat.

A Duke, for his owne slope and mantyl, 16 yerdes att x s the yerde, and Livery for eighteene; And a Erle, for his gowne, slope, and mantyll, sixteene yerdes att viijs. the yerd, and Livery for 12 servantes.

Allowances for a Baron, who is a Knight of the Garter.

A Baron or Banneret, beyng Knight of the Garter, for his gowne and hood, sixe yerdes; and Livery for viij servantes.

A Knight, 5 yards, six shillings eight pence y^e^ yard, and liuerie for fower servantes.

[1] After þat, fast at hande
Comes þo time of offrande:
Offer or leeue, whebher þe lyst.
Lay-folks Mass Book. B. 240-243.

A Squyer for y^e^ Body, as a Knight, and Livery for iij servantes.

All other Esquires and gentylmen, att five shillinges y^e^ yard; and *livery for iij servantes. And every gentylman servant iiij yards. [* leaf 138, back]

Non to were no hoodes vnder the degree of a Esquier of Household, bot onely typpetes of a quarter of a yard brode; and in tyme of ned the[y] mey wher hodds. Hoods worn by Esquires and their superiors: tippets by their inferiors.

Also, non to wher no hoddes with a Roll slyvyd, on his hede, or otherwise beyng of that fasion, vnder y^e^ degre of a Baron, or an Erles sonn and heire; bott onely hoddes without Rolles. No hoods with rolls to be worn by any one below a Baron.

Fees appertayning to y^e^ Officers att Armys.

Item, att y^e^ Buryall of on, being a Pere of y^e^ Realme, of the bloode Ryall, or elles in any of theis Offices, as Conestable, Mareshall, Chancelour, Hegh Tresorer, Chamberlayn, Steward, Admirall, or Lord Privy Seale, there hath been accustomyd, all y^e^ offecers of Armys to wher their Cottes of y^e^ Kings armys, and to have their gownes, and hoddes; and five Pounds to bee divided amongst them. *In likewys, yf any Lord of the parlement chance to dye duryng the tyme of y^e^ parlement, they to have as affor is sed. At the burial of a Peer of the Blood Royal, or one in the high offices, or Parliament, the Officers of Arms wear their coats-of-arms, and have 5*l.* between them. [* leaf 139]

P. 29. Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, says: "No doubt 'his beste' means his crest; and query if it is not a miswriting of the MS for *crest* instead of *beast*. For it would not follow that a man has a beast for his crest: mine is (a beast of) a Bird, and that of Lord Hill 'a Castle,' no beast at all. No doubt, however, beasts, or bits of them, are most common. In olden time (days of *gold* for us) the Heralds arranged all the state funerals. The Lord Chamberlain is an innovation, introduced to manage the *private* funerals of Royalty, as being more under the Sovereign's thumb than the 'Earl Marshal' (an hereditary office) and his Heralds. The Lord Chamberlain has even now only to do with *private* funerals, such as those of the Duchess of Kent, and of 'Albert the Good,' &c. &c. Those of the Dukes of York and Kent, of George III. and IV., William IV., Duke of Wellington, &c., devolved on us.'

The definition of an Esquire, and the seberall sortes of them according to the Custome and Vsage of England.

[*Ashmole MS* 837, *art. viii. fol.* 162.]

An Esquire, called in latine Armiger, Scutifer, et homo ad arma, is he that in times past was Costrell to a Knight, the bearer of his sheild and helme, a faithfull companion and associate to him in the Warrs, serving on horsebacke; whereof euery knight had twoe at the least [in] attendance upon him, in respect of the fee, For they held their land of the Knight by Cottage, as the Knight held his of the King by Knight service.

At this day, that Vocation is growne to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service in the warrs, from whence all the other degrees of nobility are borowed.

The first sort of them, and the most ancient, are the Eldest sonnes of Knightes, and the eldest sonnes of them successively in infinitum.

The second sort, are the eldest sonnes of the younger sonnes of Barons and noblemen of higher degree, which taketh end, and are determined, when the Cheife Males of such Elder sonnes doe fayle, and that the in-heritance goeth away with the heires female.

The third sort, are those that by the King are Created Esquires by the gift of a coller of SS, or such bearing armes are the principall and cheife of that Coate Armo*ur*, and of there wholle race; out of whose familys, although divers other houses doe spring and Issue, yet the Eldest of that Coate armure only is an Esquire, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fourth and last sort of Esquires, are such, as bearing office in the Commonwealth or in the Kinges house, are therefore called and reputed to be Esquires, as the Sergeants at the law, the Escheators in Euery Shire and in the Kings house, the heralds of armes, the Sergeants at Armes, and the Sergeants of Euery office, who haue the Coller of SS given them, but hauing noe Armes, that degree dieth with them, and theire Issue is not Ennobled thereby.

The good wyfe wold a pylgremage.

[*Porkington MS, No.* 10, *leaf* 135, *back, ab.* 1460—70 A.D.]

The good wyf wold a pylgremage — The good wife
vnto þ^e holly londe:
¶ sche sayd, "my dere doȝttur, — tells her
þou most vndor'-stonde — daughter
¶ For to gowerne well this hous, — [leaf 136]
and saue thy selfe frow schond. — how to manage her house and herself.
¶ For to do as I þ^e teche,
I charge the þou fonde.
¶ Witt an) O & a ny,
seyd hit ys full ȝore,[1]
¶ That lothe chylde lore be-howytt,
and leve chyld moche more.

¶ When I am out of þ^e toune, — When I'm away,
loke that [thou] be wyse,
¶ And rene þou not fro hous to house — don't run about
lyke a nantyny gryce; — like a St Anthony's Pig,
¶ For' þ^e yonge men cheres the,
they wyll sey þou art nyce,
¶ And euery boy wyll wex bold — or every boy will want to
to stere þ^e to lovd[2] wysse. — seduce you.
¶ Witt añ O & a I,
my talle þou atende:
¶ Syldon mossyth the stone
þat oftyn ys tornnyd & wende.

[1] This line, like many others in the poem, is written in the MS as part of the one above it. [2] ? lewd.

Don't show off to attract men's notice.

¶ Schowe not thy selfe to proude,
passynge thyn a-stat,
¶ To make men loke aft*ur* þ^{e},
and aske, "who ys that?"
¶ A gentyll woman, or' a callot,
[leaf 136, back] men wyll deme thow arte.
¶ Were no nodor' a-ray this weke
þen thow meyst were all gatt.
¶ Witt añ O & a I,
men wyll sey þis,
"Be wyne hope men mey se
where þ^{e} tawerne ys."

On holy days, when you sing or dance, don't hang your girdle too low

¶ Do3tt*ur*, in all com*pany*
vppo*n* þ^{e} hally day,
¶ Whe*þer* þou wylt daunce or synge,
or' witt thy fellowys pley,
¶ Honge thy gordoll nott to lowe,
but take þ^{e} knot a-way.
¶ Where no beyd*is* a-bout þe,
but I it fall for' thyn a-raye.
¶ Witt añ O & a I,
thus men wyll tell,
¶ "The corsser' hathe his palfrey dy3t
all reydy for' to sell."

Also, hide your white legs, and don't show your stockings (or drawers)

¶ Do3tt*ur*, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt;
¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schall be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt."
¶ Witt an' O and an' I,
[leaf 137] seyd Hit is full ryve,

like a butcher the flesh he wants to sell.

¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe."

¶ Be þou noþȝt of lowȝttur lyȝt,
nor of contenance lyȝt ;
¶ Ouer homly ys not best,
men may dem Aryȝt.
¶ Tyk not witt hondis nor fette,
hit ys not a goodly syȝt ;
¶ Schamfast schuld maydons be,
and stronge witt aƚƚ ther myȝt.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
þe mon ys at þe foll,
¶ That he wyll lowys scheppis flesche,
That wettytt his bred in woll.

¶ Take kede to þi byssenis,
& make not out of sesson ;
¶ Syt not witt no man a-loune,
for oft in trust ys tressoun ;
¶ Thow þou thenk no þenke a-myse,
ȝett feyre wordis be gayssoun ;
¶ Feyre and towe I-leyde to-gedore,
kyndoll hit woll, be resson.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
wett ore euer þou wende,
¶ A fyre of sponys, and lowe of gromis,
Fuƚƚ soun woll be att a nende.

¶ Doȝttur, temper well þi tonge,
& vse not monny tallis,
¶ For lessynggis wyll lepe out amonge,
that oftyn brewis ballys.
¶ Bost not to meche of thy selfe,
but kepe a mese for allys ;
¶ Take not euery roppys-end
witt euery man þat hallis.
¶ Witt an O & a I,
I wolde þou vnder-stode,
¶ A follis bolt ys son I-schot,
and dothe but lyttyll gode.

Don't indulge in light laughter or looks.

Don't tap (?) with your hands or feet.

Don't sit alone with men :

fire and tow will kindle.

[leaf 137, back]
Don't talk too much :

a fool's bolt is soon shot.

Don't change friends too often.

¶ Change not thy frend aꝯ day
for' no feyre speche;
¶ A trusty frende ys good I-fonde,
who-so may hyme reche,
¶ ȝefe anny fortun faꝯ amysse,
then mey he be thy leche;
¶ ȝefe he fynde þ^e in anny wronge,
then meyst þou wyne his wreche.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
a flent wol make a slyde;
¶ So gothe þ^e frendles þorowe þ^e toun,
no man bydyth hym a-byde.

Don't swear,

¶ Doȝttur, O þinge I þ^e for'-bede;
vse not for' to swere;

or give pledges hastily.
[leaf 138]

¶ keppe thy hondis, & geyfe no trevthe,
for weddynggis bythe in were;
¶ He is a foll þat wyll be bonde
whyll he mey for'-bere.
A lowely lokynge & a porse
makys follys her and þere.
¶ Witt a O & a I,

Try before you trust.

a-say or' euer þow trust;
¶ When dede is doun, hit ys to lat;
be ware of hady-wyst.

¶ Loke what woman þou wolt be,
and there-on set thy thowȝt;

Don't be fond of slander,

¶ Tallis flatterynge nor' sclandorynge,
loke thowe loue hem nowȝt;

and keep a stedfast mind.

¶ A stydfast wett ys meche I-prevyde[1] [1 ? approved]
there womens wytt ys sowȝt,
¶ And þer þat wette wanttythe longe,
full dere hit ys I-bowȝt.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
men wyꝯ sey so,
¶ "ȝefe þou þenke to do no syne,
do no þynge þat longythe there-to."

¶ Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon croun,
¶ Ren not a-bout in eueri pley,
nor to tawern in tovne ;
¶ Syt sadly in þin arey ;
let mournynge be þi goun ;
¶ Byd þi priers spessyally
witt good devossyon),
¶ Witt a O & a I,
al day men mey see,
¶ "The tre crokothe son
þat good cambrel[1] wyll be."

If you want to remain a maid,
don't gad about to taverns.
[leaf 138, back]

¶ Revle þe well in met & drenke,
dozttur, it is nede ;
¶ lechery, sclanderynge, & gret dyssese,
commythe of dronken hede ;
¶ Fatt mosellis & swett, makyth
mony on) to begge there brede ;
¶ He þat spendyth more þen he gettythe,
a beggerris lyfe he schall lede.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
seyd hit ys be southe,
¶ Wynttur ettyþe þat somer getty þ,
to olde men is vnkoth[e].

Don't drink too much or gorge.
Don't spend more than you earn.

¶ Far-well douzttur, far-well nowe !
I go vn-to my pylgremage ;
¶ kepe þe wel on) my blessynge
tyl þou be more of a[ge],
¶ let no merth ner Iollyte
þis lesson frowe þe swage ;
¶ Then þou schalt have þe blys of heyvyn
to thy errytage.
¶ Witt a O & a I,
dozttur, pray for me ;
¶ A schort prayer wynnythe heyvyn),
the patter noster and an) ave .˙. Amen.

Farewell,
keep to my precepts,
and you shall go to heaven.

[1] From *cam*, crooked. Topsell uses *cambril* for the back of a horse (Halliwell). "We allus gives 'em a little *gamber*, Sir," said a Cambridge boat-builder to me in 1844, when I complained that a funny he was making was not on a straight keel.

How ye Goode Wyfe tauȝt hyr Douȝter, quod Kate.

[*Ashmole MS* 61, *leaf* 7.]

Lyst *and* lythe A lytell space,
Y schall ȝou telle A *pra*ty cace,
Hear how the Good Wife taught her Daughter! How þ^e^ gode wyfe tauȝht hyr douȝ*ter*
To mend hyr lyfe, *and* make her bett*er*.[1] 4

If you want to marry, Douȝ*ter*, *and* þou wylle be A wyfe,
Wysely to wyrch*e*, *in* All þ^i^ lyfe :—
serve God, Serue god, *and* kepe thy chyrche,
And myche þ^e^ bett*er* þou sh[alt] wyrche. 8

and don't let rain stop your going to church. To go to þe chyrch, lette for no reyne,
And *þat* schall helpe þe in thy peyne.

Pay your tithes, Gladly loke þou pay thy tythes,
Also thy offering*es* loke þou not mysse ; 12
Of pore men be þou not lothe,
and feed the poor. bot gyff þou them both mete *and* clothe ;
And to pore folke be þou not herde,
Bot be to them thyn owen stowarde ; 16
For where *þat* A gode stowerde is,
Wantys seldom*e* any ryches.

In church, When þou arte *in* þ^e^ chyrch, my chyld,
loke *þat* þou be bothe meke *and* myld, 20
pray, and don't chatter. And bydde þ^i^ bed*es*. A-boue*n* alle thing*e*,
W*ith* sybbe ne fremde make no Iangelyng*e*.

[1] The original is not divided into stanzas.

lauȝhe þou to scorne noþer olde ne ȝonge ; — Scorn no one.
Be of gode berynge *and* of gode tonge ;
Yn thi gode berynge be-gynnes þ^i worschype, — Good behaviour wins honour.
My dere douȝter, of *þis* take kepe.

Yf any man profer' þee to wede, — If a wooer comes,
A curtas ansuer' to hym be seyde,
And schew hym to thy frendes alle ; — show him to your friends.
For' any thing' þat may be-fawle,
Syt not by hym, ne stand þou nouȝht
Yn sych place þer synne mey be wroȝht.

What man þat þee doth wedde with rynge, — Love your husband,
loke þou hym loue A-bouen Alle thinge ;
Yf þat it forteyne *þus* with the — and if he gets angry,
That he be wroth, *and* angery be,
loke þou mekly ansuere hym, — don't answer him.
And meue hym noþer lyth ne lymme ;
And þat schalt sclake hym of hys mode ;
Than schalt þou be hys derlynge gode :
Fayre wordes wreth do slake ; — Fair words
Fayre wordes wreth schalt neuer make ;
Ne fayre wordes brake neuer bone, — break no bones.
Ne neuer schalt in no wone.

Be fayre of semblant, my dere douȝter, — Keep a fair countenance ;
Change not þ^i countenans with grete lauȝter ;
And wyse of maneres loke þou be gode,
Ne for' no tayle change þ^i mode ;

Ne fare not as þou A gyglot were, — don't be giddy,
Ne lauȝe þou not low, be þou þer-of sore.
luke þou also gape not to wyde, — or gape too wide.
For' Any thinge þat may be-tytde (*sic*).

Suete of speche, loke þat thow be ; — Be sweet of speech.
Trow in worde *and* dede : lerne *þus* of me.

[leaf 7, back] Loke þou fle synne, vilony, *and* blame,[1]
And se *þer* be no man *þat* seys the Any schame.

When þou goys in þe gate, go not to faste,
Don't toss your head about, and don't swear. Ne hyder*w*erd ne theder*w*ard thi hede þou caste.
No grete othes loke þou suere;
By ware, my dou*3*ter, of syche A mane*r*!

Don't go to Go not as it we*r* A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase;
market Ne go þou not to no me*r*ket
To sell thi thryft; be we*r* of itte.

or taverns. Ne go þou nou*3*ht to þe taue*r*ne,
Thy godnes forto selle þe*r*-Inne;
For'-sake þou hy*m* *þat* taue*r*ne hanteht,
And alle þe vices *þat* þe*r*-Inne bethe.

Don't drink too much. Wher'-eue*r* þou co*m*me, at Ale o*ther*[2] wyne,
Take not to myche, *and* leue be tyme;
For' mesure þe*r*-Inne, it is no herme,
And droun'ke to be, it is þ[i] schame.

Don't go to cock-fights, Ne go þou not to no wrastlynge,
Ne *3*it to no coke[3] schetynge,
As it we*r* a str[u]mpet o*þer* A gyglote,
Or as A woman' *þat* lyst to dote.

but stay at home. Byde þou at home, my dou*3*te*r* dere;
Thes poynte*s* at me I rede þou lere,
And wyrke þ[i] werke at nede,
All þ[e] bette*r* þou may spede:
Y suere þee, dou*3*te*r*, be heue*n* kynge,
Mery it is of Althynge.

Don't make friends with every man you meet. A-queynte þee not *with* eue*r*[y] man'
þat Inne' þe strete þou metys than',

[1] MS blane. [2] MS o'.
[3] MS 'coke fyghtynge.'; but 'fyghtynge' has four small dashes under it, as if it were intended to be erased.

Thof[1] he wold be Aqueynted *with* the;
Grete hy*m* *cur*tasly, *and* late hy*m* be;
loke by hy*m* not longe þou stond,
That thorow no vylony þ[i] hert fond:
Alle þ[e] mẽn be not trew
That fare speche to þee can schew.

For' no couetys, no ȝiftys þou take;
Bot þou wyte why, sone them for'-sake;
For' gode women, *with* gyft*es*
Me þ*er* hono*ur* fro them lyft*es*,
Thofe þ*at* þei w*er* Alł trew
As Any stele þ*at* bereth hew;
For' *with* ther' gift*es* men þ*em* ou*er* gone,
Thof þei w*er* trew as ony stone;
Bounde þei be þ*at* giftys take,
Ther'-for' thes gift*es* þou for'-sake.

[1] Yn o þ*er* mens houses make þou no maystry,
For' drede no vylony to þee be spye.
loke þou chyd no word*es* bolde,
To myssey no þ*er* ȝonge ne olde;
For' *and* þou any chyd*er* be,
Thy neyȝbors wyll*e* speke þee vylony.

[2] Be þou not to enuyos,
For' drede thi neyȝbors wyll þee curse:
Enuyos hert hy*m*-selue fretys,
And of gode werky[s] hy*m*-selue lettys.

[3] houswyfely wyłł þou gon*e*
On werke deys in thine Awne wone.
Pryde, rest, *and* ydell-schy[pe],[4]
Fro þ*es* werk*es* þou the kepe;

Fair talkers are not all true.

Take no gifts from men;

they may lose you your honour.

Don't make a fuss in other people's houses, and don't chide.

[leaf 8]
Don't be envious.

Work on work-days,

[1] See the first stanza (from the Trin. Coll. Camb. MS) in *Babees Book*, p. 42, note.
[2] This stanza is not in the *Babees-Book* copy.
[3] l. 153, *Babees Book*, p. 43.
[4] a *d* at end partly blotted out.

and worship God on holy days.

And kepe þou welle thy holy dey,
And thy god worschype whe[n] þou may,
More for worschype than for pride;
And styfly in thy feyth þou byde.

Don't ape ladies with rich robes.

[1] loke þou were no ryche robys;
Ne counterfyte þou no ladys;
For myche schame do them be-tyde
þat lese þer worschipe thorow þer pride.

Be a good housewife, and gentle.

[2] Be þou, douȝter, A hous-wyfe gode,
And euer-more of mylde mode.
Wysely loke thi hous And men-eȝe;
The beter to do þei schall be.
Women þat be of yuell name,
Be ȝe not to-gedere in-same;
Get work wanted, done quickly.
loke what moste nede is to done,
And sette þ[i] men[é] þer-to ryȝht sone:
That thinge þat is be-fore done dede,
Redy it is when þou [3] hast nede.

When your husband 's away, set your people to work.

And if thy lord be fro home,
lat not thy men-eȝe I-dell gone;
And loke þou wele who do hys dede,
Quyte hym þer-after to his mede;
And þei þat wylle bot lytell do,
Ther-after þou quite is mede also.

If you've a heavy job, go at one end of it at once.

A grete dede if þou haue to done,
At þ[e] tone ende þou be ryȝht sone;
And if þat þou fynd any fawte,
Amend it sone, *and* tarrye note:
Mych thynge be-houen them
þat gode housold schall kepyn.

Amend thy hous or þou haue nede,
For better after þou schall spede;

[1] See the first stanza of the note, p. 45 of *Babees Book*.
[2] See l. 102, p. 41, *Babees Book*. [3] MS þou thow.

And if þat thy nede be grete,
And in þ^e^ country cou*r*ne [1] be stryte,
Make An hous-wyfe o*n* thy-selue,
Thy bred þou bake for' hous-wyfys helthe.
Amonge þ^i^ se*r*uante*s* if þou stondyne,
Thy werke it schall be soner' done;
To helpe them sone þou sterte,
For' many hande*s* make lyȝht werke.

When need is, work yourself, and bake your own bread.

[2] By-syde þe*e* if thy neghbore*s* thryue,
Ther'-fo*re* þou make no stryfe;
Bot thanke god of all thi gode
þ*a*t he sende þ*e*e to thy fode;
And þ*a*n thow schall lyue gode lyfe,
And so to be A gode hous-wyfe.
At es he lyues þ*a*t Awe[s] no dette;
Yt is no les, wi*th*-outen lette.

Don't grudge your neighbour's success, but thank God for your own.

[3] Syte not to longe vppe At euene,
For' drede wi*th* Ale þou be ou*er*-sene;
loke þou go to bede by tyme;
Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne.
And so þou schalle be, my dere chyld,
Be welle dysposed, both meke *and* myld,
For' all̃ þ*er* es may þei not haue,
þ*a*t wyll̃ thryue, *and* þ*er* gode saue,

[leaf 8, back]

Go to bed betimes, and rise early:

you can't take your ease if you'll thrive.

[4] And if it þ*us* the be-tyde,
þ*a*t frende*s* falle þ*e*e fro o*n* eue*r*y syde,
And god fro þ*e*e thi chyld take;
Thy wreke oñe god do þou not take,

If friends fall away, or your child dies, don't abuse God.

[1] The Lambeth MS 853 in *Babees Book*, p. 41, l. 116, reads 'tyme.'

[2] See l. 146, p. 43 of *Babees Book*.

[3] See the last stanza in the note, p. 44 of *Babees Book*.

[4] This stanza is not in the Lambeth or Trin. Coll. Camb. MSS in the *Babees Book*.

For' thy-selue it wyll vn-do,
And alle thes *þat* þee longe*s* to:
Many one for' *þer* Awne foly
Spyllys them-selue vn-thryftyly.

[1] loke, dou3te*r*, no thing' þou lese,
Ne þ' housbond þou not desples.
Marry your daughters early: And if þou haue A dou3te*r* of age,
Pute here sone to maryage;
girls are uncertain things. Fore meydens, þei be lonely,
And no thing' syker' *þer*-by

Don't borrow, Borow þou not, if *þat* thou meye,
For' drede thi neybo*ur* wyll sey naye;
Ne take þou nou3ht to fyrste,
Bot þou be Inne mo*re* bryste.[2]
or spend other men's money. Make þee not ryche of o*þer* mens thyng',
þe bolde*r* to spend be one ferthyng';
Borowyd thinge muste nede*s* go home,
Yf' *þat* þou wyll to heue*n* gone.

Pay servants when their work is done. [3] When þ' *seruantes* haue do *þer* w(e)rke,
To pay *þer* hyre loke þou be smerte,
Whe*þer* þei byde o' þei do wende:
Thus schall þou kepe þ(e)*m* eue*r* þ' frende:
And *þus* thi frende*s* wylle be glade
Þat thou dispos þe wyslye *and* sade.

This is what my mother taught me. Now I haue tau3ht þee, my dere dou3te*r*,
The same techynge I hade of my modo*ur*:
Thinke *þer-on* both nyght *and* dey;
Forget it not! For'-gette them not if *þat* þou may;
For' A chyld vn-borne we*r* bette*r*
Than be vn-taught, *þus* seys þe lette*r*.

[1] See l. 193-201, p. 46 of *Babees Book*.
[2] Corrupt. See l. 181-2, p. 45 of *Babees Book*, and the last stanza in the note.
[3] See l. 139, p. 43, *Babees Book*.

Ther'-for' aⱡⱡ-myȝhty god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe euen *and* morne;
And bringe vs to thy hyȝhe blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schaⱡⱡ mysse!

God speed and save us all!

Amen, q*uod* Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish (? a jack) and a flower underneath. A fish is also drawn at bottom of leaf 7, back.]

How a Wyse Man taught hys Sone,

quod Kate.

[*Ashmole MS* 61, *leaf* 6.]

Lordynges, *and* ȝe wylle here
How A wyse man tauȝht hys sone,
Take god hede to *þis* matere,
And fynd [1] to lerne it yff ȝe canne.
Þis songe for' ȝonge men was be-gone,
To make them trew *and* stedfaste;
For' ȝerne *þat* is euylle spone,
Euylle it comes out at þ^e^ laste.

Yt was A wyse man had A chyld'
Was fully xv wynter of Age,
Of maneres he was meke *and* myld',
Gentyll of body *and* of vsage [2];
By-cause he was his faderes Ayere,
His fader *þus* on' *þis* langage
Tauȝht his sone wele *and* feyre,
Gentyll of kynd *and* of corage,

And seyd, "sone, haue *þis* word in herte,
And thynke *þer*-on when I ame dede,
Euery dey þe fyrst werke,
loke it be done in euery stede,
Go se þ^i^ god in forme of brede,
And thanke þ^i^ god of his godnesse;
And after-ward, sone, be my rede
Go do þ^i^ werldes besynesse;

[1 fond, *try*.]

This Song is to make young men true and stedfast.

A wyse man had a son of 15,

[2 ? visage.]

and taught him thus:

"Go daily first to Mass;

then to business;

Bot fyrst worscype god on þe dey,
And þou wyll haue to þ^{i} mede ;
Skylfully, what þou wyll praye,
He wylle þe send with-outen drede,
And send þe all þat thow hast^{u} nede.
Als ferre as mesure wyll destreche,
luke, mesurly thy lyfe þou lede,
And of þ^{e} remynant þer þe not reche.

and your reasonable prayers will be granted.

And, son, þ^{i} tonge þou kepe Al-so,
¶ And tell not all thynges þat þou maye,
For^{y} þ^{i} tonge may be thy fo ;
þer-fo^{r}, my sone, thynke what I sey,
Where *and* when þat thou schall praye,
And be whome þat thou seyst^{u} owht ;
For^{y} þou may sey A word to-dey,
That vij 3ere after may be for^{y}-thou3ht.

Hold your tongue.

7 years hence you may repent a hasty word.

With loue *and* Awe þ^{i} wyfe þou chastys,
And late feyre wordes be þ^{i} 3erd^{e} ;
For Awe, it is þ^{e} best gyse
Forto make þ^{i} wyfe Aferd^{e}.
Sone, þ^{i} wyfe þou schall not chyde,
Ne caule he[r] by no vylons name ;
For^{y} sche þat schall ly by thy syde,
To calle hyr^{e} wykyd, it is thy schame.

Don't chide or abuse your wife :

When þou schall^{t} thy wyfe defame,
Wele may An oþer man do so ;
Bot, sofere-*and*[1], A man may tame
hert *and* hynd, *and* þe wylde ro.
Sone, be þou not gelos by no wey,
For^{y} if þou falle in gelosye,
late not þ^{i} wyfe wyte be no weye ;
For^{y} þou mayst do no more folye :

[leaf 6, back]

Patience 'll tame wild animals.

Don't be jealous,

[1] suffering

for if your wife sees it,
For' if thi wyfe myȝht ons A-spye
þat thou to her' wolde not tryste,
she 'll pay you out.
Yn spy[t]e of All þ^i fantysye,
To wreke hyr' werst, *þat* is herre lyste.
Pay your tithes, and give to the poor.
Sone, vnto þ^i^1 god pay welle þ^i tythe,
And pore men of thy gode *þou* dele.
Stand stiff against the devil.
Ageyn) þe deueɨɨ be stro*n*ge *and* styfe,
And helpe þ^i soule fro peyne of helle;

Thys werld^e is bote fantesye fele,
And dey by dey it wylle A-pare;
þer-fore be[ware] þe werld*es* wele;
Yt farys as A chery feyre.
Men gather goods
Many man here ged*er*es gode
Aɨɨ hys lyfe tyme for' odo*ur* mene,
þat he may not—be the rode—
Not A[2] tyme to ete A hene.

for another, when they die,
When he is doluen in his den,
An o*þer* schall co*m*me at þ^e last ende,
And haue hys wyfe *and* catell than);
to spend.
þat he has sparyd, An o*þer* wyɨɨ spende.
For' aɨɨ *þat* eue*r* A man) doth here
W*ith* bysenes *and* tra*u*ell bothe
All *þis* is, w*ith*-outen were,
Not bot for' mete *and* drynke *and* clothe;

Men can but get food and clothes,
Mo*re* gete*s* he not, w*ith*-outen hothe:
Kyng' ne p*r*ince, whe*þer* he be,
Be he lefe o^r be he lothe,
be they poor or rich;
A pore man) schall haue als mych as he.
þer-for', sone, be my cou*n*selle,
Mo*re* *þan* I-nowȝhe *þou* neue*r* couete;
therefore don't covet more than enough,
Thou wotyste not when deth wylle *þee* A-saylle;
þis werld is bot deth *and* debate.

[1] MS y [2] have

loke þou be not to hyȝe of state.
By ryches here sette þou no price,
For' þis werlde is full of deseyt;
Ther'-for' purchasse[1] paradyce;
For' deth, my chyld', is, as Y trow,
The most ryȝht serteyn [thing] it is;
No thing so vn-serteyne to vn-know
As is þe tyme of deth I-wys;

And þer-for', soñe, thinke oñe thys,
And all þat I haue seyd be-forne;
And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,
The chyld þat w[as] in bedleme borne.

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish underneath.]

for nothing is so certain as Death,

tho' its time is uncertain.

Jesu, save us!"

[1] MS Ther purchasse for

Stans puer ad mensam,[1]

quod Kate.

(According to Grostete and Doctor Palere, 1463-83 A.D.)

[*Ashmole MS* 61, *leaf* 17, *back*]

Christ,

Ihesus cryste, þat dyed vpon A tree
To bye mans saule þat ons was for-lorn,
Helpe þem wele in All þer degre
That doth euer ryght be-hynd and be-forn!

give us grace

And gyffe me grace þat I may so teche
That some man þer-for þe better maye be,

to teach children to flee vice!

And to be to chylder A bodely leche,
And euer-more Alle vyces þei may fere and Fle!

To teach them courtesy is my intent.

To teche chylder curtasy is myne entent,
And þus forth my proces I purpos to be-gynne;
The trinyte me sped, and gode seynt clement,
Yn what countrey þat euer y be Inne!
The child þat euer thinkes þat he wold thryue or the,
My councell in þis to hym þat he take;
And euer-more curtayse luke þat he be,
And euer all evylle vices to fle and for-sake.

Courtesy is sure to pay.

The child þat is curtas, be he pore or ryche,
Yt schall hym A-vaylle, þer-off haue no drede,
And euer to hym-selue forto be A leche,
When he is in quarel or Any oþer nede.

[1] There is no title in the MS.

And iff' he be vicius, *and* no thing' wiłł lerne, — A vicious child
[. . . . .]
To fader *and* to modour be statly *and* sterne,
He may neuer thryffe well, fore no thing' þat he canne. — never thrives;

Ne no man) off hym reiosynge wiłł haue, — no one likes him; and he gets called knave;
Yn what lond of crysdome þat he commys Inne,
Bot oft-tymes rebukyd, *and* be callyd knaue,
Ne neuer is Abułł worschippe to wynne.
Ther'-for' þis scryptour, my sone, iff' þou rede, — therefore
And thinke in þ' selue þat þou wołd be a man),
Vn-to syche poyntes I rede þou take hede — attend to me.
As þou schall here-after rede iff' þou canne.

And labour thi-selue while þou arte ȝonge, — Work while you're young,
For' þou schałł be more perfyte, when þou arte of Age,
To helpe þ' selue þ^e better with hond *and* with tonge — and learn to help yourself.
Than he þat lernes no thing' bot to pley *and* rage:
The sothe treuly thi-selue þou may see
By experience, by many in þe werld.
þat Are vnthrifty, ne no tyme wiłł the,
How þei[1] be trobyles, *and* oft'-tymes ille horlde.

Ther'-for' þis doctrine to þee[2] I rede þou take,
To ocupy *and* vse bothe by dey *and* nyght;
Neuer no maystrys I rede þat thou make, — Never act against reason and right.
þe which be contrary A-ȝen reson *and* ryght.
Now chyld, take gode hede what þat I wyłł sey;
My doctryne to þee I purpos to be-gyne; — Hearken to my teaching!
Herkyn) well þer-to, *and* go not Awey
Godde*s* grace be with vs now *and* euer-more. Amen!

My dere child, fyrst þ' selue þou vn-Abulle
With all þ' herte to vertuous disciplyne,—
Afore þ' soueryn), standyng' at þ^e tabulle— — Before your master,
Dispos þ' ȝouthe After my doctryne,

[1] MS þ', the same as for 'thy.' [2] MS þ^e, the same as for 'the.'

[leaf 18]

To All nurtour þi currage þou enclyne.
don't speak recklessly; Fyrst, when þou spekys, luke þou be not rekles,
Be-hold to þi souereyn) in þe face with they eyene,
and don't fidget. Kepe fete and fyngers and hondes stylle in pese. 56

Don't stare about, Be simpyll of chere, caste not þi luke offe syde,
Gase not A-boute, turnyng) thy hede ouer Alle;
or stick your back to a post. Ageyn) the post luke not þi bake A-byde;
Make not þe myrrour Also offe þe walle; 60
Don't pick your nose, Pyke not þi nose All-so in especyalle,
Be ryght wele wer, and sette þer-vn þi thoughte,
or scratch yourself. Crache not þi fleche for ought þat may be-falle, 63
Hede and hond, ne oþer thinge þat is vpon) þee wroght.

Don't look on the ground when a man speaks to you. To þe erth þou lùke not when) Any man spekes to þee,
Bot be-hold vn-to his face; take gode tente þer-to.
Go pesably by þe wey, wer-so-euer it be, 67
That no man) vex þee in Iorney wer þou schalle gone.
Change not þi colour by no maner wyse,
les þou be prouyd gylty in All þi mysdede;
Mock no one. Moke not, ne scorne not, noþer man) ne wyfe,
Ne no noþer person); þer-to þou take gode hede. 72

Wash your hands before eating. Ete þou not mete with þi vn-wasche hondes,
For dred of mych[1] hurte þat may come þer-bye;
Don't sit till you're told. Ne syte not vn-byden wer-so-euer þou stondes,
lesse þe pepyll sey þou canne no curtasye. 76
Take A-boffe þee thi better whe[n] þou schall sytte,
Els folke wyll sey þat thou canne no gode.
When grace is said, doff your hood. Take þou no mete (be welle wer offe itte)
Vnto grace be seyd, and þer-to veylle þi hode. 80

Don't eat too hastily. When þou etys þi mete, be not to hasty,
(Be welle wer þer-of) be it befe or moton),
Or Any oþer metys, oþer pye or pastye,
leste þou be callyd els both cherle or gloton). 84

[1] MS nych.

When þou has done with A dysch, calle it not A-geyn), Don't ask for a dish twice.
For' þat is no curtassy; þer-offe þou take gode hede.
What-so-euer þou be seruyd, loke þou be feyn),
For' els þou may want' it when þou hast nede. 88

Reuyle þou no metes, what-so-euer it be, Don't abuse the food you're going to eat.
Yff' þou purpos After-ward of it forto ete;
Fro Alle sych vncurtasnes I rede þat þou fle;
And euer to be curtas, þ' hert þer-in þou sette. 92
Kepe þ' spone cle[ne] from All maner of fylthe; Keep your spoon clean.
longe In thi dysch late it not A-byde.
Be wer wele þer-of, þat þou no thyng' spylleth, Spill nothing.
That þei do not moke þee þat standes þe be-syde. 96

luke þ' hondes be clene when þou etys þ' mete; Have clean hands.
Pare clene þ' nayles for' ought þat may be,
Make þem chere curtasly þat by the do sytte, Make yourself agreeable.
And kepe wele þ' couñtenans, for' þat is curtasy. 100
Dele not þ' mete A-wey, bot if þou haue leue, Don't give away your food, except by leave,
Yff' þou sytte with Any man þat may be þ' better,
For' els þou may þer-for' haue A grete repreue:
þus seys grossum caput, in doctrine of letter. 104 says Grostete.

When þou etys þ' mete, take gode hede of þis [leaf 18, back]
Yn þ^e o syde of thi mouthe ete þou thi mete, Fill only one cheek at a time,
That both þin chekys be not fulf at ons,
For' þat is no curtassy, and so þou schall fynde itte.
When mete is in thi mo[u]th, lauȝhe þou ryght nought, and don't speak when your mouth 's full.
Ne speke þou to no man) in syche tyme,
For' drede þat thy mete oute off' þ' mouth be brouȝht,
And lepe Inne þ' dyssche with Ale o^r with wyne. 112

kytte þou no mete—þer-offe take þou gode tente— Empty your trencher before taking a second help.
When mete is on þ' trenchere vn-eten) some dele.
Ne moke þou no man þat at þ^e bord is lente, 116
For' drede þat mysfortone sone After may þee spylle.
Yf þat þou wylf off' nourtyre, my sone, be-fore,
Sette þou no dysche neuer oñe þ' trenchere.

Make no noise when you sup your broth.

When þou sowpys þ^i^ potage—be wele *wer* off^t^ þis—
Make no grete sownd^e^ *in* suppy*ng* of þ^i^ dysche;

Wipe your mouth when you drink.

And wype wele þ^i^ mowth when þou drynke schalle take,
Ne no thyng^t^ hafe þ*er*-Inne þ*at* may do A-mysse^e^;
For^þ^ iff^t^ Any mete þ^i^ mowth be *with*-Inne,
When þou schuld^e^ drynke of coppe or off^t^ ca*n*ne,
Su*m* wyll drinke, be it thyke or thy*n*ne,—
Than schall þou be mokyd both off^t^ wyff^t^ *and* man).

Don't spit over the table; [^1^ ? MS spylle.]

When þou syttes at þ^e^ tabull, þ*is* is cu*r*tasy,
Ou*er* þ^i^ tabull luke þou not spytte,[1]
les[t] it falle on) mete þ*at* stondes þee by,
For^þ^ þ*at* is A cherles dede, who so doth it.

or pick your teeth till you've done.

Pyke not þ^i^ tethe—þ*er*-off^t^ be þou were—
Tyll þ*at* thow haue etyne All þ*at* thow wylle,
Ne noy not þ^i^ felew—off^t^ þ*at* loke þou spere—
Drynke salt ne potage, þ*er*-off^t^ none þou sp[i]lle.

Blow not i*n* þ^i^ dyssche, be it mete o*r* drynke,
For^þ^ þ*at* is no cu*r*tasy, þ*er*-off^t^ take þou tente;
Don't sleep or doze at meals.
Ne when þou Arte at Any mete, noþ*er* slepe ne wynke:
For^þ^ mokynge of pepull where þ*at* þou arte lente.

Keep your nose clean, and don't forswear yourself.

Kepe clene þ^i^ nose w*ith* napkyn) *and* clote,
That no fylthe be sene þ*at* schuld þee dyshono*ur*.
Ne swere þou to no man) A for^þ^-suorne othe,
For^þ^ þ*at* schall be repreue, *and* to þee no*n* hono*ur*.

At meals, don't play with a dog or cat.

Pley þou not w*ith* A dogge ne ȝit w*ith* A cate
Be-fore þ^i^ bett*er* at þ^e^ tabull, ne be syde;
For^þ^ it is no cu*r*tasy—be þou sure of þ*at*—
In what place of crystendome þ*at* þou dwelle o^r^ byde.

Don't dip your meat in the salt-cellar.

When þou etys þ^i^ mete,—of þ*is* þou take hede—
Touche not þ^e^ salte beyng^t^ in þ^i^ salt-saler^þ^,
Ne w*ith* flesch ne fyssche w*ith* oþ*er* mete ne brede,
For^þ^ þ*at* is no cu*r*tassy: so seys doctou*r* paler^þ^.

That's not courtesy, says Dr Paler.

ley salt o*n* þ^i^ trenchere w*ith* knyfe þ*at* be clene;
Not to myche, be þou were, for^þ^ þ*at* is not gode,

That all maner of curtassy of þee may be sene ;
And euer to þ^i better luke þou A-veylle þ^i hode.
Yff^i þou wasche with A better mane than þ^i selfe Arte, [leaf 19]
Spytt^i not on thy hondes—þer-of take gode hede— Don't spit on your hands, or be too pert.
And be þou not to crueH, at no tyme ouer perte ; 157
The better þou schaH lyke when þou hast nede.

Preeys not to hye where þ^i better is, Don't press up too high at table.
Bot stond lawly on þ^i fete be-fore thi hey tabulle ; 160
And loke þou be seruys-AbuH at euery mese
And Iangelle not to moch for^þ makyng^i off^i A fabulle. Don't chatter too much,
Take hede of one thing^i þat I wyH þe seye,
For^þ it is gret curtasy, *and* schaH to þee A-veyle : 164
Out off^i no mans mouth—for^þ-bere it if þou may— or take a tale out of a man's mouth.
To take Any comenyng o^r ȝit Any tale.

Com not to counseH bot if^i [1] þou be callyd, [1 MS it.]
For^þ dred of repreue, wer as euer þou gos ; 168
Ne neuer moke non old man^þ, thofe he be old, Don't mock old men.
For^þ sych vn-curtasy may cause þee to haue foys.[2] [2 foes.]
When þou hast^i dyned, be redy taryse
Some-what or þ^i beter, for^þ þat is curtasy ; 172
And els þ^i souerand he wyH þee dyspise,
And think^i þat þou arte prowd, *and* bere þi-selue to hy.

Crombys A-boute þ^i trencher^þ, luke þat þou leue none, Clean crumbs off your trencher with your knife.
Bot clens þem A-wey with þ^i knyfe þat be clene. 176
Obeysens þou make o^r þou ferther^þ gone, Bow to all before you leave.
That alle þat sytes at þ^e tabull þ^i curtasy may sene.
Yff^i þou haue A fader þat be of^i lyfe here, Honour your father
Honour hym with wyrschype,—my counsell I þee
And also þ^i modour þat is thi faderes fere. [gyffe,— and mother.
And euer-more after þ^e better þou schaH fare ;

And iffe þou rebukes þem oþer in word o^r dede, If you set not by them,
And to be presumptos, *and* set þem not bye, 184
þou schall neuer thryue when^þ þat þou hast^i nede, you shall never thrive.
Ne ȝit kepe þ^e statutes off^i þ^i curtasye.

Don't put your elbows too far on the table,

Thy elbow *and* armys haue *in* thi thou3t;
To fere *on* þ^i tabulle do them not ley.
To mych mete at ons *in* þ^i mouth be not brou3t,
For^ than þou art not *cur*tas, þ^i bett*er* wylle seye.

or wear laced sleeves.

Kepe wele þ^i sleuys for^ touchyng^ off^ mete,
Ne no longe sleuys lasyd[1] luke þat þou haue.
Kepe wele þ^i k[n]yufe for^ castyng^ vnd*er* fete;
The mo*re* lawde of peple I wote þou schalt haue.

Keep your better on your right hand;

Euer on þ^i ryght hond take þou thy better^,
Where þat eue*r* þou go, be wey o^r by strete.
And iff^ þou se Any man^ be redyng of A lett*er*,
Come not to ny3e hym, for^ dred^ of rehete.

[1] The mention of these laced sleeves fixes the date of this poem to Edward IV.'s reign, 1461-83. See drawings of the laced sleeves on the left-hand figure on p. 154, and the right-hand one on p. 159, of Fairholt's *History of Costume in England*. The former, of 'a dandy of the period,' 'is copied from a curious painting which formerly existed on the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, but which is now destroyed: it has been engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." . . His sleeves are large, and open at the sides, to display the shirt beneath, which is loose, and projects from between the *lacings* of the opening. In some instances we find the sleeves slit immediately above and beneath the elbow, with a narrow piece of cloth to cover it, the whole being held together by wide *lacing*, leaving some inches' space between each portion of the sleeve, which is padded at the shoulders with wadding, to give a broad appearance to the chest: these sleeves [that is, 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.'] were, by a law of the third year of Edward [the Fourth]'s reign [A.D. 1463] prohibited to be worn by any yeoman or person under that degree, under a penalty of six and eightpence, and 20*s.* fine for the tailor who manufactured them.'—*Fairholt*, p. 154-5. The Statute of Edw. IV. says: "And also he [the King] hath ordained and stablished, That no Yeoman, nor none other Person under the same Degree, from the said Feast of Saint Peter called *ad vincula*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCC lxv. shall use nor wear in Array for his Body, any Bolsters nor stuffing of Wool, Cotton, nor Cadas, nor any stuffing in his Doublet, but only Lining according to the same; upon Pain to forfeit to the King's Use for every such Default Six Shillings and Eight-Pence. Also our said Sovereign Lord the King, by the Advice and assent aforesaid, hath ordained and established, That no Knight under the Estate of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor none other person, shall use or wear from the Feast of All Saints, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCC lxv. any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, unless it be of such Length that the same may cover his privy Members and Buttocks; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every default Twenty Shillings. Also by the Assent aforesaid it is ordained, That no Taylor after the said Feast shall make to any Person, any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, of less Length, or Doublet stuffed, contrary to the Premises, upon the same Pain for every Default."—3 Edw. IV. cap. 5. A.D. 1463.

And iff' þou go *with* Any man In felde o^r^ in towne,
Be wall o^r^ by hege, by pales o^r^ by pale,
To go *with*-oute hy*m* luke þou be bowne,
And take hy*m* by-twyx þee *and* þat same walle;
And if þou mete hy*m*, luke þou be sure
þat thou go *with*-oute hy*m*, *and* leue hy*m* nexte þe walle.
And iff' ȝe schuld entere in at Any dore,
Putt' be-fore þee þ' better, for' ouȝte þat may be-falle.

give the wall side to all you meet,

and let your better enter first.

Stare not on A strange man to mych̄, be þou ware,
For' þat is no *cur*tassy, þer-to þou take gode hede;
Ne speke not to mych,—þus seys doct*our* paler',—
Bot iff' it be in þ' pater noster, þ' Aue *and* þ' crede.
And þou passe be-fore A man, wer-so-euer it be,
At fyre o^r^ in oþer place, luke þou aske leue;
And euer thinke on worschype *and* thy oneste,
And kepe þee euer fro rebuke *and* All maner repreue

[leaf 19, back]
Don't stare too hard at strangers,
or talk too much, says Dr Paler.

And if þat it forten so by nyght o^r^ Any tyme
That þou schalt lye *with* Any man þat is better þan thou,
Spyre hy*m* what syde of' þ^e^ bedd' þat most' best wyll ples hy*m*,
And lye þou on' þ' toþer syde, for' þat is for' þ' prow;
Ne go þou not to bede before bot þ' better cause þe,
For' þat is no *cur*tasy, þus seys doct*our* paler'.
Hose *and* schone to powle off', loke þou redy be,
And oþer gere þat to hy*m* langes, for' þou may fare þ^e^ better.

Let your better choose which side of the bed he'll lie on;

don't go to bed first, till he asks you to, (says Dr Paler,) and first pull off his hose, shoes, &c.

And when þou arte in þ' bed, þis is *cur*tasy,
Stryght downe þat þou lye both *with* fote *and* hond.
When ȝe haue talkyd what ȝe wyll, byd hy*m* gode nyght in hye,
For' þat is gret *cur*tasy, so schalt þou vnderstond.

When you're both in bed, lie straight,

and say 'Good night' when you've done your chat.

Next morning, wish your fellow 'Good morrow' tho' he's asleep.

Yf þou ryse be-fore At morów, take gode hede of *þis*,
Byd hym gode morow or þou go, thof þat he be on slepe;
Ne do no thinge *in* þat hous þat schuld be A-myssè,
Bot euer-more att curtasy I rede to þee þou kepe.

Anoþur thing at þi table, for soth I wyll þee telle,
That is gret curtasy,—þus seys doctour paler,—
Don't put your knife in your mouth, says Dr Paler,
On *þi* tabulle kepe þi k[nyf][1]—luke þou befelle—
When þou putes mete in þi mouthe, for þat is þi behauour.
or speak to your better, when he is drinking.
And if þou be in Any place wer þi better is drynkyng,
So þat þe coppe be at his hede, odour with Ale or wyne,
Doctour paler seys þee þus, *and* byddes þee sey nothing,
For brekyng of þi curtasy *in* syche A curtas tyme.

When your lord washes, don't forget his basin and towel.
And if þou be in Any plas wer þi souerand schall wessche,
luke þou be redy Anon with water in some vessell,
For-gete not þe towell, noþer for hard ne nessche,
For þat is grete curtasy, þe soth I do þee telle.
Off All maner of thinges, one I wylle þee schew:
Never defile your mouth with ribaldry.
Neuer with Any rebaudry do not fyle þi mouthe,
For þat is no curtasy; þou schall fynde it trew,
Wher þou go, est or weste, oþer north or southe.

If your lord want to drink at night,
And if þin souereyn drinkyng be in þe tyme of nyght,
Yf þou be standing in þi hous, or syting in Any syde,
hold a candell for him till he has done.
Take A candell in þi hond Anon, *and* hold hym lyght;
To he haue drownkyn what he wyll, styll by hym þou byde.

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a sketch of a flower underneath, and a fish at the bottom of leaf 18, back.]

[1] blotted out.

The Abce of Aristotill.

[*Harl. MS* 1304, *leaf* 103; *ab.* 1450 A.D.]

Wo-so wil be wise, And worshipe desireth,
Lett hym lerne on letter, And loke on A-nopер
Of Abce of Aristotiłł: non Argument Ageyn þat:
And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyghtis a thousand;
Yutt it myte A man[1] Amend ful ofte,
The lernynge of on letter, And his lif safe.
Blame not Beerne þat the Abce made,
But the wikkid will And the werke After;
For it shall greve A good man, þow gilty be mendyd,
Now herkeneth And hereth how þat I begynne:

Attemperance in Alle thynge, Alle-myghty god loueth;
Better bowe þan breke; obey to þi bettere;
Care for þi Conscience, & kepe it ai clene;
Dred god, And do well; þan nede þe not Dowte;
Ese þine euen cristen; euer thynke on þine ende;
Fle falsnes And foli; And for thi feith fight;
Gete god þi gouernour, And grace shall the grete;
Halow þi holi day, And heuen I the hote,
In Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
Kynge, keysere, And knyght, are knytte for to ke[pe]
Lawes of owre lord god: bothe lewid And lerid,
Mangnifie his mageste þat most is of myght.
Norshe nott þi nature to nyceli for no thynge;

[1] MS men man.

On) god Allonli eu*er* haue in þ^i^ thoughẗ ;
Preise p*re*stis And p*re*chou*rs* þ*at* pray for the people ; [leaf 103 *b*.]
Quenche fals querelo*ur* ; þ^e^ quen)e of heven) þ^e^ wiH quite ;
Rewle wel þ^i^ Regalli, as righẗ is And Reson) ;
See to thi sogettis, and sei þem) hure sothes ;
Temp*er* hure tongis fro tellynge of talis ;
Voide vices ; vertues shaH vaunce vs aH :
þus Rede we in bokys And Rollis A-bowte.

Thus god þat is begynnere & form*er* of alle thyng,
In) nombere, weyghẗ, & mesure, alle þis world wrought he ;
And mesure he taughẗe us in alle his wise werk*is*,
En)sample by the extremitees þ*at* vicious Arn Eu*er*.
A Coward, And Contacowre, manhod is þ^e^ mene ;
A wrecche, And wasto*ur*, mesure is be-twene ;
For to moche of on)[1] thynge was neu*er* holsome.

Be not to Amerows, to Auenturous, ne Ang*ur* not to ofte ;
Be not to bolde, to besi, ne bowrde not to brode ;
Be not to cursed, to crueH,[2] And care not to sore ;
Be not to DuHe, ne to DredfuH, & Drink not to moche ;
Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to erneful noþ*er* ;
Be not to fers, to familary, but frendli of chere ;
Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide ;
Be not to hasti, to hardi, ne to heuy in harte,
Be not to Iettynge, to Iangelynge, ne Iape not to ofte ;
Be not to kynde, to kepynge, & ware knaues tacches ;
[3] Be not to lothe, to lovynge, ne to liberall of goodys ;
Be not to mellous, to meri, but as mene askith ;
Be not to noyows, to nyce, ne to newfangle ;
Be not to orped, to overthwarte, & oþus[4] þou hate ;
Be not to pressing, ne to p*re*uy with princes ne with Dukys ;

[1] MS on) on).
[2] ? MS coueH.
[3] These lines to the end are in a later hand, Peter Le Neve's. He has written in the margin : 'M^r^ this was on the other leafe, but I took it out & writt it here. Peter Le Neve 1695.'
[4] MS first written 'opus.'

Be not to queynte, to querellous; queme[1] wiłł y^e^ maystri; 16
Be not to Riatous, to revelling, ne rage not to ofte;
Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep;
Be not to toyllous, to talewise, for temperance it hatyth;
Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche; 20
for a mesurable mene is best for vs alle. Explicit.

[1] MS ? querne.

The MS, Harl. 1304, up to leaf 99, contains Lydgate's Life of the Virgin Mary. Leaf 100 begins the "Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke"; and leaf 103 contains the Abce above, and finishes the MS.

Proverbs of Good Counsel.

[*Harl. MS* 2252, *leaf* 3.]

PROVERBUS.

Be charitable to the needy;

At owur begynny[n]ge, god be owur spede
In) grace & vertue to prosede!
Be petuus & eke merciabyH;
To nedy folke be CherytabyH.
A man) with-owte mercy, of mercye shall mys;
& he shaH haue mercy þat mercifuH ys.
By mercye & mekenes all thynge chevythe,
by foly & hate, AH wysdom̃[1] Remevythe.
The beste wysdom̃ þat I Can),

do well, and fear no man.

ys to doe weH, & drede no man).
He þat yn) yowþ^e no vertue wyll vse,
In) Age aH honour wyH hym̃ Refuse.
Spendꝫ no manus good in vayne,
For borowurdꝫ thynge wyll home Agayne.

Give true weight.

gyve thow trewe weyght̃e, mete, & measure,
And then) shall grace with the Indure.
Be not to boldꝫ for to blame,
leste þou be foundꝫ in the same;
And yff on) party woldꝫ fayne be Awreke,

Hear both sides.

yet man) of Ryghte here þ^e toþer party speke.
over þ^i hedꝫ loke thowe never hewe;
poverte hathe but frendis fewe.

[1] This m̃ is generally used for the old mer; but here it is used for a curly-tailed m, and the mark of contraction has no value, I think.

Whoo-so of welthe takythe no hede,
he shall fynde fawte In) tyme of nede.
þis world ys mvtabyH, so saythe sage,
þerfor gader or thow fall in Age.
Kepe not þ^i tresure aye Closyd in mew;
suche old tresure wyll þ^e shame ynowe.
whate prophytis plente & grete tresure,
& in poverte A wreche Alway to endure?
Man), sobyrly þ^i howse begyn),
& spende nomore then) þou mayste wyn),
for A nyse wyfe, & A backe dore,
Makyth oftyn tymus A ryche man) pore.
Wysdom stondyth not all by speche;
A wylfull shrew can noman) teche.
he hathe wysdom at hys wyll
þat can) with Angry harte be stylle.
[1]lett never þ^i wyH þ^i wytt over-lede;
whate man) þou serue, Alway hym drede,
and hys good as þ^ine Awne spare;
be lowly & seruysabyH, & love hys welfare.
And yf þou wylte be owt of sorow & care,
hyt ys to kepe & Refrayne þ^i Tonge,
for þis lernyth Chyldren) when) they be yonge.
[. . . . .]
[2]& ever in welth be ware of woo,
Son), yf þou wyste whate thynge hyt were,
Connynge to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
Thow wold not myspend on) howre;
for of all Tresure, Conny[n]ge ys flowur.
yf þou wylte leve in peas & Reste,
here, & see, & sey the beste.
where ever þou be, in bowur or haH,
be mery, honeste, & lyberaH.
Beware, my son), ever of 'had-I-wyste';

Earn money in your youth,

but don't be a miser

A foolish wife and a back door pooren a man.

Be true and humble to your master.

Bridle your tongue.

Misspend not an hour. Get Knowledge, the flower of all treasures.

Be merry and liberal.

[1] This line is put two lower in the MS.
[2] This line is put one lower in the MS.

hard ys to know whom on̄ may tryst[e];
A tr[u]sty frende ys hard to fynde,
none ys more foo þen̄ on̄ vnkynd[e].

Don't be too anxious about anything.

Care not to myche for ony thynge,
Thowght̄e wyll þe sone to erþe brynge.
serve god weH, & haue no drede,
he wyll þe helpe in tyme of nede;
drede owur lord god boþe nyght & day,

Don't swear.

Swere none othys in ernyste or pley;
for who so dothe,—scrypture sayth soo,—
þe plage from hys howse shaH not go.

Pray to God every dawn.

Erly in the dawny[n]ge of þe day,
my son̄, to god loke þat þou praye;
& ever haue in þi memory
for to seke hevyn̄ moste besyly.

Choose good companions:

Acompany with them̄ þat be oneste,
and they wyll reporte of þe þe beste,
As for þis proverbe dothe specify,

"Like will to like."

"lyke wyll to lyke in eche company."
grace & good maners makyþe A man̄;
woo may he be þat no good Can̄!

Virtue and Knowledge are better than Riches.

Better ys to have vertu & Connynge,
þan̄ to be lewde with Ryches of A kynge.

Don't be moody.

hevy of þi herte loke þou not be;
let honeste Company Comfort the.
yf þou be trobyllyd with ynconvenyens,
arme þe alway with Inward pacyens;

Associate with the wise.

Invre þe with them̄ þat byn̄ wyse,
then̄ to Ryches thow shalt Aryse.

How to rule one's Self and one's House.

[*Harl. MS* 787,[1] *leaf* 9.]

Temperance.

1 Be humble in thyne owne sight.

2 Mistrust thyne owne judgment.

3 Be in gesture & behauiour comely;

4 In Apparell, neyther curious nor costly.

5 Thinke nothing uncomly which is honest, for nothing is comely *that* is not honest.

6 Be temperate in dyett.

7 Be moderate & honest in Expences.

8 Be neuer idle, but euer well busied.

9 Remember how precious a thing tyme is, & spend it thereafter.

10 Liue within thy compass.

11 Exceed in nothinge.

12 Be spare of wordes.

13 In serious things, thinke first, and speake after.

14 Speake well of all, euill of none.

15 Speak neuer uainly.

16 Speake neuer untruly.

Domus.

Seeke thy wife for uertue onely.

Seeke noe Match aboue thy degree.

Liue together in *the* feare of God.

Loue, & liue with her in peace.

Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge;

Teach *them* to knowe & feare God;

Keep them in due obedyence;

Nourish *them* not in delicacye.

Gouerne thy House in order, for in disorder noe House may stand.

Prouide before hand, & order thy Expences: so shall thy House continue.

Keep hospitallity amonge thy Neighbours, but neuer aboue thy power.

Spare in tyme, & spend in tyme.

[1] The MS has a late title: "Severall papers found in Mr Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury." 1601 is the latest date I see in the volume.

Good Aduice to a Gouernour.

[*Harl. MS* 787, *leaf* 123, *back.*]

1. Take not all *that* you can gett, nor doe all *that* you may. For there is noe greater danger to a Noble man, then to let slippe *the* Raines of his lust, & not to restraine them with *the* stronge Bitt of Reason.

2. Let noe Ambicion entangle *your* mynde, for her nature is to ouerthrow her self. Let all untruth be farre from you, *that* your thoughts be not able to accuse *your* Conscience. Soe use *your* Riches as they be receyued into *your* House, but not into *your* heart; for where Couetousness raigneth, there noe other uice is longe absent.

3. Beware *that* in all things which concerne your Hon*our*, Person, & Substance, you put not fortune in trust. For he *that* is wise will neuer hazard *that* danger, wening to haue remedy at her handes.

4. In strange affaires goe not too nigh *the* bottome; and in your owne, doe not streyne or enforce tymes. For, demeaning you soe, you may remaine as you now be, or else you may happe to remember what you were.

5. The danger of Noblemen is, *that* they can not descend, but fall. To the defence whereof nature ordeyneth *the* best Freinds. Therfore perseuere in amity with such as will rather stay you from falling, then sett to theyr hands to helpe you up.

6. Be more carefull of Conscience then of Hon*our*, & doe well till you can noe more; but neuer doe euill, though you may.

7. Let not cruelty, but mercy & pitty ouercome you. For *the* tears & Complaints of *the* wronged will come to Gods presence for your Correccion, & to *the* Princes eares for your discreditt.

8. In *the* Offices *that* you bestowe, haue rather before *your* Eyes *the* worthy then your Freinds. For, amonge your Freinds, depart your Goods, but not your Conscience.

9. In *that* you counsell, be not affecc*i*onate: in *that* you discounsell, be not passionate: in *that* you com*m*ande, be not absolute. In whatsoeuer you doe, be neyther hasty nor disaduised; for *the* faults be yours, but *the* Iudgment is *the* worlds. And *the* greater *the* man is, *the* more is he noted.

10. If you will not swerue in your Counsell, nor stumble in *your* Actes, nor fall from *that* you haue, then fauour him *that* telleth you *the* truth, yea, though it be unpleasing; & abhorre him *that* telleth you any untruth, seem it neuer soe pleasant. For you ought rather to loue him *that* aduiseth you now, then those *that* will make semblance to pitty you hereafter.

Finis.

Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen,

A.D. 1577.

[*Lansdowne MS* 98, *art.* 2, *leaf* 8: *follows* Queene Elizabethes Achademy.]

Aduertisementes and counsailles verie necessarye for aⁱᵗ noble men and counsaillors gathered owt of Divers Aucthors, bothe Italian and spanish. 1577.

1. Tell not all that yo^{w} thinke, nor showe all that yo^{w} have, nor take all *that* yo^{w} Desire, nor saie all *that* yo^{w} knowe, or do all *that* yo^{w} can̄; for lightlie shall he lose the favo*ur* of his prince *that* followeth̄ the comauñdeme*n*t of his lust*es and* restrayneth̄ not them with the bitt of reason̄.

2. Beware yo^{w} put not fortune in trust with those thing*es that* apperteyneth̄ to yo*ur* pe*r*son̄, honno*ur*, substance, or conscience; for the noble man̄ w*hi*ch is wise will not Hasarde him self in hope to have relief at her hand*es* as often as he shaⁱᵗ nede.

3. Although all men promyse to helpe yo^{w} yf yo^{w} had neade, yet neverth̄eles, trust not too muche thereunto; manie of them w*hi*ch nowe do offer to take Armo*ur* for yo*ur* sake, yf occasion be offered, will be the fyrst to stryke yo^{w}, to gyve yo^{w} the overthrowe.

4. In other men̄s cawses meddle not to much̄, nor in yo*ur* owne enforce not tyme; for governinge yo^{w} so, yo^{w} maie remaine in *that* good estate yo^{w} be, or els maie easilie happen yo^{u} to reme*m*ber what yo^{w} were.

5. The daunger of noble men̄ is like to them *that* be in the toppe of high̄ and sharpe mountaines, whence they ca*n*not descende, but faⁱᵗ. Wherefore, p*ro*cure vnto yo*ur* self suche faithfull frend*es* as will rather staie yo^{w} from fallinge, then suche as woⁱᵗ rech̄e vnto yo^{w} their hand*es* to helpe yo^{w} vp when yo^{w} be Down̄e.

6. Do good whiles yo^{w} have poure thereunto, and never do hurte thoughe yo^{w} maie; for the Teares of the offended, and *the* compleint*es* of the greved, maye one daie have place in the sight of god, to move him to chastise yo^{w}, and be also occasion to make the prince to hate yo^{u}.

7. Bestowe yo*ur* benefitt*es* and offic*es* rather vpoñ the good, then vpon yo*ur* frend*es*; for among*es* yo*ur* frend*es* it is lawefull to dep*ar*te yo*ur* goodes, but not yo*ur* conscience.

8. In *that* yo^{w} counsaill, be not affectionat: in *that* yo^{w} discouncell, be not passionate: what soever yo^{w} do, do aduisedly; for althoughe in the Courtes of princ*es* every man beholdeth the worthines and nobilitie of the p*er*soñ, yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. Yf yo^{w} will not Erre in yo*ur* counsailles, nor stomble in yo*ur* act*es*, imbrace them *that* tell yo^{w} trueth, and hate them *that* flatter yo^{w}; for muche more ought yo^{w} to love them *that* adviseth yo^{w} nowe, then those *that* will seame to pitie yo^{w} when yo^{w} are in Daunger.

10. Have alwaies in memory the benefitt*es* yo^{w} have receaved of others, and enforce yo*ur* self to forgett suche iniuryes as others have Don vnto yo^{w}.

11. Esteme muche *that* litle of yo*ur* owne, and regarde not thaboundañce of other.

12. Indevo*ur* yo*ur* self to do good to all men, and never speke eveH of them *that* be absente.

13. Ieoparde not the losse of many thing*es* for the gaine of one thinge, neither adventure the losse of one thinge certeñ for manie thinges DovtfuH.

14. Make muche of yo*ur* dearest frend*es*, and do not p*ro*cure anie Enemyes.

15. [1] Exalte not the riche Tyrau*n*te, neither abhore the pooer w*hi*ch is righteouse.

16. Denye not iustice vnto the pooer, because he is pooer; neither p*ar*doñ the riche because he is ryche.

17. Do not good onelie for love, neither chastice onelie for hatred.

[1] This paragraph has been marked through.

18. In Evident causes abyde not the counsailles of others, *and* in Dovtfull cawses Determyne not of yo*ur* self.

19. suffer not sy*nn*e vnponished, nor well-doing without rewarde.

[leaf 9] 20. Denie not Iustice to him *tha*t asketh, nor mercye to him *tha*t deserueth it.

21. Chastise[1] not when thou arte Angrye; neither p*ro*myse anie thinge in thy myrthe.

22. Do eveH to no mañ for malice, neither co*mm*yt anie vice for covetousn[ess].

23. Open not thy gate to fflatterers, nor thy eares to backbyters.

24. Becomē not proude in thi[2] *pro*speritie, nor desp*er*ate in thyne adu*er*sitie. stody alwaies to be loved of good meñ, *and* seeke nat to be hated of the EveH.

25. Be favorable vnto the pooer, w*hi*ch maie be litle, yf thou wylt be ayded of god against them *tha*t be mightie.

[1] ? MS Chastice [2] MS this

The Sage Fool's Testament.

(A SATIRE ON THE ILL DOINGS OF LORDS AND THEIR SERVANTS.)

[*Harl. MS* 2252, *leaf* 85, ? *ab.* 1475 A.D.]

There was A grete lorde þat had A Sage fole, the whyche he lovyd Marvaylo*us* well, Be Cawse of hys pastyme. And the Fole in lyke wyse lovyd well hys lorde A-Bove All hother. And at lenthe the lorde desesyd, for the whyche the fole was in grete sorow. And the sonne of þ*is* lorde had All hys fad*ers* possessyons, & was lorde aft*er* hys[1] fadyr, & he lovyd hys fole in lyke wyse as hys fadyr dyde. And w*ith*-in A yere or ij^e^ Aft*er*, Thys sage fole Fyll Seke, & made hys Testame*n*te: And Bequethyd hys sowle to the devyll, And hys body to be Beryed in the Chyrche yerde; And hys Folys hode he bequethed to hys lord*is* Stewarde, & hys Babyll to hys lord*is* Amn*er*. And to hys lorde he Bequete All hys money þ*at* he had gaderyd in Bothe hys lord*is* s*er*uyce./ And when the lorde had knowlege herof./ [he] Marvaylyd therof, & whate þ*at* he mente therbye. And the lorde wente to see the sayd fole. And Askyd hym̄ 'whye he gave hys Sowle to the devyll And all hothe[r] legacyes in hys wyll.' The Fole Answeryd the lorde & sayd: "I haue lovyd so well yo*ur* fadyr, þ*at* I Covett & Dessyre to be in hys Company

A Lord loves his Fool,

and dies.

The Lord's son loves the Fool too.

The Fool falls sick, and makes his Will: gives
1. his soul to the Devil,
2. his hood to the Steward,
3. his bable to the Almoner,
4. his money to his Lord's son,

1. because his dead Lord's in hell, and he wants to join him.

[1] MS hyr.

Above All thyng*is*, for he lovyd̄ me so weⱡ./ And I know weⱡ þat he ys in heⱡ; wherfor I wolde be w*ith* hym̄./ And I gyve to my lady yo*ur* wyffe my Bedde, be Cawse þat she myghte lye on̄ hyt; for now she lyethe so softe, þat hyt ys All-moste none ev*er*y day or þat she Ryse. And to yo*ur* Steward̄, my hode; be Cawse hyt hathe iiij erys. for where ye put All yo*ur* truste in hym̄, to pay yo*ur* Credyto*ur* & the pore pepyⱡ, he may not here. And to yo*ur* Amn*er*, my Babyⱡ: Be Cawse when̄ he delyu*er*yth yo*ur* Almys A-monge the pore pepyⱡ, they prese on̄ hym̄, & thene he bet*is* them̄ w*ith* hys Staffe, þat the Blode Ron̄ Abowte there erys; & my babyll ys Soft*er*. And, my lorde, to yow I geve All my money þat I haue gatheryd̄, bothe in yo*ur* ser*u*yse & my lord̄ yo*ur* fadyrs, to geve in Alm*us*." "Whye," seyd̄ the lorde, "thowe knoweste þat I haue money more th*en* thow." Then̄ sayd̄ the fole "All that money þat ye haue, & I to, wyll not Restore the wronge þat yo*ur* fad*er* hathe don̄, whyche ys in heⱡ. And thedyr ye goe w*ith*-owte Amen*dmen*t; & therfor I geve yow Aⱡ my money."

2. because the Steward won't hear the poor.

3. because the Almoner beats the poor with his staff.

4. because all the son's money, and the Fool's too,

will not repair the wrongs the old Lord did.

[The next piece in the MS is the *Le Morte Arthur*, in a hand of ab. 1440 A.D., that I edited for Messrs Macmillan a few years ago. Mr Panton had previously edited it for the Roxburghe Club.]

Lydgate's Order of Fools:

IN NUMBER THREESCORE AND THREE.

A COPY of this Poem, with three additional stanzas, but with a different concluding one from that of the present copy, was printed by Mr Halliwell in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society. The scarcity of that volume, and the certainty that this print will reach many eyes that have not seen the Percy Society's volume, induce me to print the following poem, though most of its differences from the Harleian MS 2251 that Mr Halliwell followed, are for the worse. As fools have not died out of the world, it may be both interesting and useful to compare the notions of 1460 about them, with those of 1869.

[*Cott. MS Nero A vi., leaf* 193 *back*; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.]

The ordre of folys ful [yore ago][1] begonne,
Nwly *pro*fessyd, encresithe[2] the couente;
Bacus and Iuno hath set abroche a tonne,
[And] Brouthe the[r] braynys vn-to exigente,
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, *and* presidente;
Noumbre of thys frary, iij score and iij,
Echone registred be grete avysement,
Endosyd theyre patente that they shale neuer the.

Chyffe of folis, men yn bokys redythe, Fool, No. 1.
Able yn hys foly to holde residence,
Ys he that nowthēr god louethe nor dredethe,[3] Fool, No. 2.
Nor to his chyrche hathe none aduertence,

[1] ? MS tuore. [2] h is printed he: cp. 'lythe,' l. 39. [3] ? MS drodethe

Fool, No. 3. Nor to his seyntes dothe none reuerence,
Fool, No. 4. And [hathe] dysdeyne to folke yn pouerte,
Fool, No. 5. To fadyr and moder dothe none benyuolence:
A-sele hys patent, for he shal neuer the.

Fool, No. 6. The vj fole thys Frary to begynne,
More than a fole, braynles *and* wode,
Ys he that neuer wul forsake synne,
Fool, No. 7. Nor he þat can nought, nor lerne wul no goed,
Fool, No. 8. Nor he þat hathe too faces yn on hode
May be enrollyd yn þys fraternyte,[1]
Fool, No. 9. Cherle of condicion, and borne of gentil blode,
May clayme of righte þat he shal neuer the.

Fool, No. 10. The x fole may hoppe vp-oñ the rynge,
Fote al aforne, *and* lede ryghte the dawnce;
He þat al yewythe,[2] *and* kepethe hym selfe no thynge.
Fool, No. 11. þ^e^ double herte, feyre feynyd countenawnce
Fool, No. 12. A pretens[3] face treble yn hys dalyaunce,
Fool, No. 13. Tonge spreynte with suger, the galle kepte secrete,
Fool, No. 14. A perilous mouthe ys wors þan spere or launce,
Thought they be cheryssed, god lete hym neuer the.[4]

Fool, No. 15. A Face vnstabyl, gasyng est and sowthe,
Fool, No. 16. With loude laughtrys entrithe[5] langage,
Gapithe as a roke, abrode gothe Iowe *and* mowthe
Lyke a Iay enfamynyd yn hys cage,
Fool, No. 17. Malaparte of chere and of wysage,
Fool, No. 18. Comethe to counsel or he callyd be,
Fool, No. 19. Of eche þyng medelythe; hys thryfte lythe yn morgage;
Auant a knawe! for he shal neuer the.

In the boke of prudence cypryane,[6]
Whyche callyd ys "a gardeyne of hys flowres,"

[1] MS fraterye [2] giveth [3] ? MS.
[4] Harl. 2251 has another stanza before the next.
[5] vttrithe. Harl. [6] H. prudent Cipiouñ.

He seythe a pulter þat sellythe a fatte swanne Fool, No. 20.
For a gosselyng, þat grasethe on bareyne clowrys,
And he þat castythe hys cloke yn showrys Fool, No. 21.
Oute of the tempest whan he may flee,
Or whan þat spado lowythe paramours, Fool, No. 22.
[Is oon] of hem that shalle neuer the.

[And he also, that holt hymself so wise,] Fool, No. 23.
Whyche yn workyn[g] hath non experiens,
Whos chaunce gothe nether yñ synke or syse, Fool, No. 24.
With ambes ase encressithe hys dispence,
A Foltysshe face, rude of eloquence, Fool, No. 25.
Bostys with borias, *and* [at] a brownte wul flee;
Betwene wolle *and* gossomer is a grete difference;
Stuffe of a chappman that ys not like to the.

I rede also of othyr folis too,
Thynge to chalange to whyche he hathe no ryghte; Fool, No. 26.
And he yn trowthe a more fole ys al so, Fool, No. 27.
Whyche alle requirethe that commethe yn hys sighte;
And he ys a fole whyche [to] euery wyghte Fool, No. 28.
Tellethe hys counselle and hys pryuyte:
Who sekythe werre, *and* hathe hym selfe no myghte, Fool, No. 29.
Hit were meruelle þat euer he shuld the.

Anothyr fole with counterfete wesage Fool, No. 30.
Ys he þat falsluy wul fage[1] and feyne,
Whedyr that he be olde or yynge[2] of age,
Seythe he ys syke, and felythe no maner payne;
And he þat dothe hys owne wyfe disseyne,[3] Fool, No. 31.
And holdythe anothyr, of what asstate he be,
With othyr folis enbrace hym yn the cheyne,
A warantyse for he shal neuer the.

Of thys frary mo folys to expresse,
He that ys to euery man contrary,

[1] flater. *Harl.* [2] MS þynge [3] disdeyne. *Harl.*

Fool, No. 32. And he þat bostyth of hys cursidnes,
Fool, No. 33. And he also that dothe prolonge and tarie
With faire [be]hest*is*, fro hys promys to warye;
Beseluy to telle I can no noþer see,
He ys like a fugetyf þat fleth to santuarie
For drede of hangyng, for he shal neuer the.

Fool, No. 34. He ys a fole eke, as senek seythe,
That long delaythe hys purpose to spede.
Fool, No. 35. A gretter fole ys he þat brekythe hys feythe;
Fool, No. 36. And he ys a fole þat no sh[ame dothe] dre[de],
Fool, No. 37. And he that hotythe, *and* faylythe hys frynde at nede,
Whos promys braydythe on duplicite;
A hardy mouse that ys bolde to brede
In catt*is* erys; þat brode shal neuer the

Fool, No. 38. And he ys a fole þat yeuythe al-so credens
To nwe rumoris and euery foltishe fable;
Fool, No. 39. A dronglew fole þat sparythe for no dispence
To drynk a-taunte til he slepe at þ^e^ tabille;
Fool, No. 40. Among al folis þat fole/ is most culpabulle
That ys cursyd, and hathe therof deynte;
Fool, No. 41. A pore be[ge]re, to be vengeable,
[Withe] purs penyles, may neuer the

Fool, No. 42. And he þat holdythe a quarel a-yenst righte,
Hold[yng][1] hys purpose styburne a-geyn reson;
Fool, No. 43. And he ys a fole þat ys ay gladde to fighte,
And to debate sekethe occasioun;
Fool, No. 44. Abyde so long to he be betyn downe,
Dronkyn, lame, þat he may not flee;
Fool, No. 45. And who so reioysethe to soiorne in prisoun,
Enrolle hym vppe, for he shal neuer the.

Fool, No. 46. A lusty galant þat weddythe a olde wiche
For grete tresoure, be-cause hys purse ys bare;

[1] MS Holde.

A hungrey hunter þat holdythe hym[1] A biche Fool, No. 47.
Nemyl of mouthe for to mordyr A hare; 108
Nyghte riotours[2] þat wil no waryn spare, Fool, No. 48.
Wythe-outen licens or eny liberte,
Tyl sodyn perel bryng hem yn þe snare,
A preperatif þat þey shal neuer the. 112

Who dothe amysse, or lawghethe hym selfe to skorne, Fool, No. 49.
Or com to counsel or þat he be callyd, Fool, No. 50.
Or lowde lawghys whan he dothe[3] morne, Fool, No. 51.
Amonge foles of riȝt he may be stallyd; 116
[That] purposithe hys wyage whan hys hors ys gallyd, Fool, No. 52.
[And] pluckethe of hys shone toward hys iorney, Fool, No. 53.
Forsakythe fresshe wyne, And drynkythe Ale Apallyd; Fool, No. 54.
Suche foltishe taste,[4] god let hem neuer the. 120

And he þat is a riatter al hys life, Fool, No. 55.
And [hathe] hys felow *and* hys neghbor yn dispite, Fool, No. 56.
And wondythe hym selfe with hys owne knyfe, Fool, No. 57.
Of j. candyl wenethe ij. were lighte, 124
Slepethe on the day *and* wacchis al þe nyghte;
Alle masse be done long or he redy be;
Suche I may clayme, be very titul of riȝte,
To be a brothyr of hem þat shal neuer the. 128

Who holdythe hys tresoure þat he wissethe, Fool, No. 58.
And gaderithe hym gossomer to packe hytfor hys wolle,
And he ys a fole afore the nette þat fysshes,[5] Fool, No. 59.
And he ys a fole þat dothe Federys pulle 132 Fool, No. 60.
Of fat caponys vp mwyd to the fulle,
Hath no thyng but bonys for hys fee;
N[u]llatensis a-sesythe[6] hath hys bulle
To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the, 136

When þat gander grasythe on þe grene, Fool, No. 61.
The sleyghty fox dothe hys brode beholde,

[1] houndithe on. *Harl.* [2] motoners. *Harl.*
[3] laughyng. whan that he shuld. *Harl.* [4] foolis. *Harl.*
[5] dothe wisshithe. *Harl.* [6] ensealed. *Harl.*

He takythe the fatte [and] cast a-way the lene,
And [sigrums][1] chefe wardyn of the folde,
Takythe to hys lard[er] at what pryse þey be solde,
Grettest lamber, on or to, to or iij.;
[In wynter n]ythys the frost*is* be so colde,
The shèpard slepyth; god let thym neu*er* the!

Fool, No. 62.

[A fo]ryn[2] likenes whych shal no man displece,
[By] a strange vncouthe comp*ar*isou*n*,
[W]hen the belwedyr pasturythe at hys ese,
[T]how alle the flocke hawe but smal foysou*n*,
[S]lepethe at leyser, makythe noyse none nor soune,
[Ca]rethe for no more so he haue plente:
[A]l tho þ*at* make suche a dep*ar*tysowne
[A]mong her suggett*is*, god lett hem neu*er* the!

Fool, No. 63.

W*ith* ful wombe þey prechyd of Abstinence,
Ther botel Fyllyd of freshe wyne or ale,
Loue rownyng, loutyng *and* reuerence,
Nwe fals reporte w*ith* many glosyng tale;
The Iay more cherychyd þan the ny3tyngale,
Tabourers w*ith* her duplicite
Plesithe more þys days, when stuffyd ys þ*er* male
Farsed w*ith* flateryng; god let hem neu*er* the!

[3][L]ete thys frary a confirmac*ioun*,
[*And*] som worthy byshoppe n*u*llatence,
[*And*] graunten hem a gen*er*al p*ar*doun
[*And*] a patent to be-gyn her dispence,
[Er]ly *and* late to walke w*ith* licence
[W*ith*] opyn walet frely en eche countre,
[He]r bul enselyd, concludyng in sentence
[Th]at none of al þys ordyr ys neu*er* like to the. Amen.

[1] *Harl.* [2] A foreyn. *Harl.*
[3] Pared off. Harl. 2251 has three different stanzas for this last one.

A Prophecy, &c.

[*Additional MS* 8151, *leaf* 200, *back; at the end of William of Nassington's 'Mirror of Life,' and in the same hand as that.*]

¶ Be prophecia.

¶ Whene pryde is moste in prys,
Ande couetyse moste wys,
Ande lucchery moste in vse,
þefe maade reue,
þenne schall englonde mys-chewe.

When England shall come to grief.

[What can man possess?]

þat .I. ete *and* þat .I. drynke, þat may .I. haue;
þat .I. lene fals mene, long*er* .I. may hyt craue;
þat .I. dele for my soule, þat may .I. fynde;
þat .I. lefe my sekatoures, þat is long*er* by-hynde.

Gifts to God come back.

All hyt is fantome þat we wiþe fare,
Ande for oþere mennes goode is all oure care;
Alle come we hyder nakude *and* bare,
Whenne we heþene passe, is þere no mare.

Naked we came, naked we go.

[Ills of our time. *See p.* 88.]

Gyfte is domusmane,
Gyle is chapemane;
Lordes bene lawles,
Chyldere bene awles;
Wysemene are blynde,
Deþe is oute of mynde,
Cosyns bene vnkynde,
A goode sykere frende is yuell to fynde;
Ande euere, in weele *and* in woo,
þenke one þe ioy þat lasteþe for oo.

Bribery is Judge,

children aweless,

sure friends are scarce.

What shall I do?

(A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE UNKINDNESS AND BASENESS OF FALSE FRIENDS.)

[*Egerton MS* 1624, *leaf* 1, ?ab. 1470 A.D.]

als I me sat my self allon,
*i*n my hart makand[1] my mo*n*,
I said "allas, my ga*m*mys ar gon!
qwat sal I do?
*tha*t I most t*ra*yst*e*,
it is all waste!
sor may me rew!

My hert was set ful stedfastly
on *tham tha*t no3t was set on me;
thus am I sted ful heuely.
god lord, qwat sal wo1th of me?
qwat sall I do &c'

I wold fayn lof w[*ith*]out ver*r*aunce
*tham tha*t my hert I haf gyffy*n* to:
it wyllnot be, for no kyn chauns,
*tha*t I can aud*ur* say or do.
v[t] sup*ra*

[1] This *-and*, with the *qwat, sall, haf, lof, thai puttis*, point to a Northern writer.

deer god! qwat may *th*is mene?
qwy is *th*is ward[1] *thus* fals to me?
I am *the* creat*ur* *that* il kan fene
any falsed or trechere:
qwat sall I do? &c'

with care my hert is vmbe-set;
qwat I sal do I *can*not say;
tham for to lof I *can*not let,
that me has broght vn-to *th*is fray:
[qwat sal I do?] &c'

wold god *that* I war broght in clay!
ful hard it is *th*is lyf to lede!
I pr*ay* god qwytte *tham* ny3t *and* day,
that me *thus* make to haue *th*is nede!
[qwat sal I do, &c]

god wot, 3it was I neu*er* vnkynd
to *tham*, ne 3it to non of *th*ayrs;
ther was neu*er* non so mykyll[2] *in* my my*n*de,
qwo[t] so I haue don to *tham and thers*.
[qwat sal I do, &c]

that *th*ai me putt*is* *thus* out of mynde,
qwat *that* *th*ai men I wold fayne wytte.
god wot I was neu*er* 3it vn-kynde,
of no thy*n*g *that* *th*ai haft*er*[3] me 3it.
[qwat sal I do?
that I most trayste,
it is all waste!
sor may Me rew!]

[1] world. [2] MS mylkyll.
[3] This word is doubtful—q$^{n)}$, or q^{u} with a long curl to the *u*, has been written under it, and the curl carried into the *aft*. *Hasked*, for *asked*, was no doubt meant.

Ills of our Time.

(*A better copy than that on p.* 85. *The stops are those of the MS.*)

[*Harleian MS* 2251 (? *in Shirley's hand*), *leaf* 153.]

¶ *Munus fit*[1] *Iudex. fraus est* mercator *in vrbe*
Non lex est domi*nis. nec timor est pueris*
¶ Yift is made. domesman
Gyle is made. chapman
Lordes ben lawles
And children ben awles
¶ *Ingen*[*i*]*um dolus est. amor omnis cera*[2] *voluptas*
Ludus rusticitas. et gula festa dies
Witte is tourned. to trechery
Love is tourned. to lechery
Pleye is tourne[d] to vilany
And haliday. to gloteny
¶ *Etas ridetur. mulier pulsatur amore*
Dives laudatur. pauper[3] *adheret hvmo*
Olde men. ben skorned
Wymmen. ben wowed
Riche men. bien pleasid
And pore men. ben diseasid
¶ *Prudentes ceci. cognati degeneres sunt*
Mortuus Ignotus. nullus amicus amat
Wise men. bien blynde
And kynrede. is vnkynde
The dede is. out of mynde
Triew friende. can noman fynde.

[1] MS sit [2] ? *for* certa *or* mera. [3] MS paupere

The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V.,

24 FEB., 1421.[1]

[*MS Addit.* 18,752, *leaf* 162.]

Thet*ra*mamaton.[2]

THE CORONAC*I*ON OFF *THE* QWENE.

THE QWENES BORDE THE DAY OFF THE CORONAC*I*ON.

On*e* *th*e ryght hond*e* of the qwene, the Erchebysshope off Ca*nter*bury // The Bysshope off Wynches*ter* // On*e* the lyfte hond*e* off the qwene / The kyng off Scott*es* yn A State // At the End*e* off the qwene-ys borde / The duchesse of yorke, The Cowntes off hu*n*thyngton*e* // Vnd*er* the borde. / wayting on*e* the Qwene / The Cowntes off kente, The cownt[e]z marchall // On*e* the ryght syde of the qwene knelyd*e* / The Erle of *th*e marche holdyng *th*e Ceptre And on*e* *th*e lyfte syde knelyd*e* / *th*e Erle off Stafford*e* holdyng the yarde //

The Secownd*e* Borde of *th*e ladys

The cowntes off Stafford // The Cowntez off marche. The Cowntez off Arundell // The Cowntez off Westmorland*e* The Cowntez off Northhumburland*e* // The cowntez off Oxonford*e* The lady Nevyle // My lady Ione Som*er*sett // My lady Moumbrey, dowgth*er*e off *th*e Erle Marchall // My lady Margarete Som*er*sett // The lady Roos // The lady Clyfforde, The lady Burgeveny // The lady Talbott // The lady Wylloby // The lady Mawley // Alice Nevell, wyffe to s*ir* Ric*h*ard Neuyle // The Mayde Grey, dougther to *th*e lord*e* Grey // Oon*e* of *th*e dougthers of Westemoreland*e* // The lord*e*z dougth*er*e ffythzhug // ij Susters of *th*e lord Wylleby.

THE SECONDE DAY AFT*ER* THE CORONAC*I*ON ATT THE QWENE-YS BORDE

The Duchesse off yorke // The Countesse off huntyngton //

Att the Second*e* borde.

The Cowntez off Stafforde // The Cowntez off March, The Cowntez off kente // The cowntez off Arundell, The Cowntez Marchall /

And*e* othere ladys aftur*e* the Cowrs of the day a-ffore-Seyde //

[1] *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 11848-53, printed 1868, p. 145.

[2] So in MS.

Courses of a Dinner and Supper given to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornwell.

[*Additional MS* 18,752, *leaf* 162, *back.*]

Hoc ffestum ffecit dominus Iohannes Cornewell Regi Anglie //[2]

A [*The rest of the page is blank.*]

[leaf 163] Thetragramaton[3]

In prandio		The 2. course	
ffrumenty with veneson[4]	primus	Nonbles[6]	2us.
Blawmanger[5]		Gelee[7]	
Beffe and Moton		ffesaunte	
Signetys		pygg	
Capons off haute grece		kydde	
vele		Pygeons	
heronseux		Partrycches	
venyson y-bake		venyson roste	
leche ffloree		Crustades[8] blanc3 bake	
		leche dalmayn	
		Semaka[9] frye3	

[1] *Catal. of Addit. MSS, Brit. Mus.*, 1868, p. 145-6.

[2] The Additional MSS-Catalogue applies this heading to the piece before it, printed on p. 92 here, though the hand-writing and colour of the ink seem to connect the heading with what follows on the next leaf (163) of the MS. The whole of this piece on leaf 163 is in the same hand and ink as the Coronation, whilst the piece printed on p. 92 here is in paler ink and different writing,—earlier, as I think.

[3] This is at the top of the page.

[4] 'For to make Furmenty' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 91, "messe yt forthe wyth fat venyson and fresh moton." See also the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279. Pegge, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 157.

[5] Recipe for 'Blonc Manger' in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 9; 'Blomanger' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 93.

[6] Recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 16, 94; *H. Ord.*, p. 427; *Lib. C. Coc.*, p. 10.

[7] Recipe for 'mete Gelee,' clear, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 103; 'Gele of Fyssh,' *ib.* p. 50; 'Gele of Flessh,' *ib.* p. 51. See *H. Ord.*, p. 437.

[8] Recipe for 'Crustade' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 442.

[9] 'On Flessh-Day . . At the seconde course . . a leche, and *samakade*, and bake mete,' *H. Ord.*, p. 450. See the recipe for *Sambocade*—curd, eggs, &c., flavoured with elder flowers: *Sambucus*, the Elder,—in *Forme of Cury*, p. 77.

The 3 course		In Cena
Mameny[1] ryall		Venyson on broche
Chare de wardon[2]		Creme boylle[9]
Rabetys		Pygg in Sauge[10]
Byteres[3]		Schuldres of Moton
Egretys		Capons of haute grece
Popelers[4]		Heronseux
Quayles	3me	Partrych
Plouers		Chekyns y-bake
Small byrdis[5]		lete[11] lardes y-fryed
larkes		
Payn puffe[6]		
leche lumbarde[7]		
Cryspes frye[8]		

The last course

Colde Creme[12]
Gele
Venyson roste
kyde roste
Rabetis
Pegeons
Egretys
Quayles
Small byrdis
Doucetis[13] y-bake
Leche damasque

Nota bene the coronacion yn the leffe nexte be-fore thus

[1] Recipes in *Forme of Cury*, p. 19, 88; *H. Ord.*, p. 430.

[2] ? Apple marmalade.

[3] Bitterns. See 'Betowre' in *Babees Book* index.

[4] *Popple*, to move quickly up and down, as a cork dropped on water. *Webster.*

[5] See *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 36, l. 8.

[6] Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 450; *Forme of Cury*, p. 89.

[7] Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 438; *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; *Babees Book*, Pt II, p. 95.

[8] Recipes for 'Cryspes' and 'Cryspels' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 73; for 'Cryppys,' *ib.* p. 99.

[9] Recipe for 'Crem Boyled' in *H. Ord.*, p. 447, p. 463.

[10] 'Pigge en Sage' at the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279. Pegge.

[11] See the recipes for 'Letlardys' (Leche Lardys), in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 13, and 'Leche Lardys' in *H. Ord.*, p. 439.

[12] On Flessh-Day . . At the thridde cours, *colde creme*, and *gele* to potage; and therwith fylettes of *venyson*, rosted *pejons*, *egretys*, partoriches, rabettes and qwales . . . and cuspis and *doucettes*. H. Ord., p. 450.

[13] Recipe in *Babees Book*, p. 60; and see Index to *B. B.*

Courses of a Meal or Banquet.

[*MS Addit. Brit. Mus. No.* 18752, *leaf* 162, *back.*[1]]

Grene pese, *with* venesoñ.
Graunte chare.[2]
Capoñ of hawte grece.
Signet.[3]
Blawnche custarde, dyaburde *with* byrdys.
leche maskelyñ.
} 1^{mus} curs*us*

Roo in brothe.[4]
Rosey.[5]
Kydde.
Heronsewe.
Mownter in manteH.
Chykyñ dyaburde.
venesoñ y-bake.
ffruter lumbarde.
leche rubby.
} 2^{dus} curs*us*

Datys in composte.
Blawnche creme, *with* annys *in* confete.
Lardys of venesoñ.
Rabbett*is*.
Qwayle.
larkys.
RyssheWes.[6]
vyandys cowched *with* ıyons.
1 leche of his Armys.
} Suggearke [*Sugar-work?*]

[1] In different ink and hand from the *Coronation*, page 89, above.

[2] A great joint. Cp. 'and therwith *gret flessh* weel rosted, and *chapon*, and *swan* rosted.' *Househ. Ord.*, p. 450.

[3] cygnet, swanling.

[4] See recipe in *Househ. Ord.*, p. 428; and 'Roo in a Sewe,' *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 23.

[5] 'For to make Rosee,' *Forme of Cury*, p. 105, 108; 'Rosee,' *ib.* p. 31; 'Rose to potage' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 430; 'Rose' in *Lib. Cure Coc.* p. 13; 'Rose dalmoyne,' *ib.* p. 19.

[6] Ryshews of Fruyt, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 82, No. 182. See too 'Rissheus' (of pork, eggs, &c.) in *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 39.

A Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

[*Harleian MS* 6149, *leaves* 151—155, *from a book of Sir William Cummyn's of Inverallochy, Marchmond Herald, ab.* 1500 A.D.]

This poem appears to have been composed late in the 15th century, by one of that unwise class of writers on Heraldry, who, not content with assigning to that science its proper place as a handmaid to History (which, by enabling the ownership and dates of various buildings, charters, monuments, &c., to be identified, the matrimonial alliances of noble families to be proved, &c. &c., it certainly is) by claiming for it a fabulous origin, and one so manifestly capable of disproof, brought the whole subject into such contempt and ridicule, that the study of it in later generations was almost entirely neglected. Such, in 1661 A.D., was Sylvanus Morgan, who ascribes arms to Adam, Eve, Joseph, &c.; and various others both in England and Scotland.—G. E. Adams. (The heraldic footnotes are Mr Adams's too.)

First as [1]*the* erth incresith populus, — As people and vices increase,
So *con*valit variance *and* vic*is*,[2]
Amang men mater*is* malicious*e*,
So *that* few my*cht* laubo*u*r for discrepanc*is*, — few men work for the distinctions which heralds deal with.
quhill nobilnes in armes, lordly pusanc*is*,
and of herald*is* *the* wer*s*chipful ordour,
Of quham I think to tret, set weyis sur*e*.

In werr*is* of thebes, athenis, *and* troyis tou*n*is, — In the wars of Thebes, Athens, and Troy,
with *other*is mo of gret antiquiteis,
Ba*n*ner*is*, stander*is*, gittovnis,[3] pe*n*salis, penonis, — banners, &c., were borne by nobles and others.
borne by pr*in*c*is*, nobillis, *and* co*m*mynitcis,
In ferr*e* of werr*e*, pes, or ony degreis,
I find *th*ai war most m*erk*is, as m*er*chand*is*
Ber*is* toknis or signet*is* on ther hand*is*.

[1] *th* = y of MS. [2] MS vic*is* & variance
[3] *Getoun*, a banner, properly 2 yards in length.—*Archæol.* xxii. 397. See note, p. 29, above.

Afterwards,
Quhill efter euer the langest leving men
heris, speris, and lernis more felle and wit,
ingenious folk
Diuerse folkis ingenyouse fyndene thene
In well degest myndis considerit,
inspired by God,
Be celestial inspiring part tuk it,
set Arms in figures of
To set armes in metallis and colouris,
ffor seir causis bering sertyn figouris,

Sum sonne, sum monne, sum sternis, sum elementis,
beasts, birds, &c.,
Sum best, sum bird, sum fische, sum frut, sum flouris,
and mony mo siclik; Sum with defferentis,
some like Nature and some not.
Sum alterit, als sum in ther awin nature;
Sum, not the hole, bot part in raschit[1] figouris,
As my simplest consate sal suin mak clere,
With correctiouñ, and now quha likis heir.

In the Theban war (which I wrote of at length) Palamon and Arcite were known by their arms.
The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
wes at thebes, quhiche at linth I did write,
Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
Be ther cotis of armes knawin parfite,
Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot that I nyte,[2]
ffor in thai dais heraldis war not create,
Nor that armes set in propir estate.

After the siege of Troy (about the knights at which my Book tells),
Bot eftir that troy, quhar so mony kingis war
Seging without, and other within the toune,
So mony princis, knychtis, and peple there,
as this my buk the most sentence did soune,
all thocht spedful in o conclusioune,
nobles wore *marks* to record their doughtiness,
That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin:

[1] Erased. See l. 168. 'In Heraldry, the Member of any Beast which seems torn from the Body, is called *Erased*.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*

[2] Deny. Chaucer is one of the 'sum' contradicted; see his Knightes Tale, *A*. 1016-17, Ellesmere MS,

> But by here Cote-Armures / and by hir gere
> The *heraudes* / knewe hem best in special

The fad*er th*e hole, *th*e eldast son deffer[e]nt,[1]
quhiche a labelle ; a cressent *th*e secound ;
third a molet ; *th*e fourt a merl to tent ;
fift an*n*e aglot ;[2] *th*e vj a flo*u*r had fond,
Clepit delice.[3] *th*an fad*er* or we the suld grond
Armes to mo, gif *th*ai be w*ith* difference
As plesit him : *th*us armes begoñ from̃ thens.

and the sons bore distinctions on their fathers' arms.

*Th*an troy distroyit, *th*e werr*is* endit, *th*e lord*is*
I seir land*is* removit ; *and* so brut*us*
(his lif *and* dait my buk eft*er* record*is*,)
Come in brutan*e* w*ith* folk*is* popul*us*,
And broc*ht* w*ith* him *th*is werly m*er*k*is* thus,
quhiche succed*is* in armes to *th*is date ;
Bot lang eft*er* troy, herald*is* war noc*ht* creat.

After the destruction of Troy, Brutus (whose life my Book tells) brought these *marks* into Britain.

Mony hald*is th*at gret Iuli*us* cesar
ffand, *and* did mast be wit *and* discreciouñ,
how in metallis *and* colour*is* armes ar
Now pr*o*pir set w*ith* hie p*er*fectiouñ
In braid feld*is* to bere *and* to blasouñ.
On pr*i*ncipal I traist wes his prudens,
W*ith* oth*er*is mo pr*e*ceding him *and* sence.

Many think Julius Cæsar was the first to blaze arms properly (see l. 204); and I think he was wise enough for it.

Gold *and* siluer, ij pr*e*ciouse metallis pur*e*,
ffour colour*is* bene pr*o*pir, *and* the[r]-w*ith* mixt,

With gold and silver are mixed

[1] These differences or distinctions of houses (which are only used in British heraldry) were invented about the time of Richard II. The eldest son (in the lifetime of his father) bears a label over the arms of his father ; the second son, a crescent ; the third, a mullet, i. e. spur-rowel ; the fourth, a martlet, the heraldic name of the house-marten ; the fifth an annulet (here called "aglot") ; the sixth, a fleur-de-lis ; the seventh, a rose ; the eighth, a cross moline ; the ninth, a double quarter-foil.

[2] *Aglot* = annulet. Richardson says *aglet* or *aiglet*, diminutives of *acus*, a point ; and quotes Spenser's Faerie Queene, b. 11, c. 3—who mentions a garment besprinkled "with golden *aygulets*." Query, If these were not *annulets? Aglot* in our text is certainly used for annulet. (But annulets were very rarely used as marks of cadency in Scottish heraldry, says a Scotch friend. See note, p. 103.)

[3] de lys.

black, red, blue, green; but not purple.

Sable, goulis, asur, vert: perpure
the[r]-with[1] wnproper, as proportis the text;
In it apperis diuerse colouris befixt,
therfor it is not o propir colour,
Bot sufferit so in armes of honour.

What precious stones represent the heraldic metals and colours.

To blasoune therin vertuys stanis, gold Is
more precius than oucht that ma be set.
In it bot stonne goldy, as thopasis;
Siluer is perl; sable, diamont[2] of det;
Goulis, ruby; asur, the saphir set;
Vert, emeraut; pu[r]pour, the amathis.
Tovny colour, sum haldis cassidone Is.

Silver and sable are said to be the richest arms.

Sum seis siluer and sable ar the richest,
ffor in tho two most cristin and hethin kingis
makis and brekis ther lawis As thai lust best;
and quhen thai tak honour othir or sic thingis,
thai sit in sable and siluer that euery bringis;

The Duke of Brittany bears them,

and of brutane[3] the duk, bering the sammyñ,
Richast armes is, as I lernit am.

[1] I read it, "Gold and silver are two pure precious metals. There are four colours proper, and therewith mixed, viz. sable, gules, azure, and vert.—Purpure (to mix) therewith is improper, as says the text, &c."

Purple is very seldom used in English heraldry. It is nonsense, however, to say it is *improper* to use it, as it is quite good heraldry. A purple lion was borne by the De Lacy family, Earls of Lincoln, and is (accordingly) the arms of Lincoln's Inn.

'Proper' above means 'properly so called.' In blazoning the arms of nobles, the ancient heralds called "or," topaz; "argent," pearl; "sable," diamond; "gules," ruby; "azure," sapphire; "vert," emerald; and "purpure," amethyst. In all the books of *English* heraldry two other colours are allowed, viz. 'Tenné' or tawny, i. e. orange colour, and 'Sanguiné,' i. e. blood colour. There is, however, no instance of their occurrence.

[2] *Sable*, the Heralds Word for a black Colour in the Arms of Gentlemen; but in those of the Nobility they call it *Diamond*, and in the Coats of Sovereign Princes *Saturn*. 'Tis expressed in Engraving by strokes drawn perpendicularly across.—*Gloss. Angl. Nova.* 1719.

[3] The arms of Brittany were "Ermine," i. e. *white*, with *black* ermine spots.

All writ in warld most be as siluer *and* sable;
quhite leiff, blak Ink, *that* al kingis, for most part, — and so do most kings.
Cristin *and* hethin, beris gold *and* siluer able
thing of riches riolest to aduert,
and most noble, for no colouris astert
So preciouse as gold to set in it, — Metals and colours exceed in worth the precious stones
ffor siluer [than] perll more riche to wit;

Goullis, ruby; asur, saphire excedis; — that represent them.
Vert, emerautis; *and* amatist, purpur;
therof gold is moche rich in werely wedis.
ffowr thingis in armes brekis thaim in ther natur: — Arms are broken by Bends, Fesses, Chevrons, and Bars.
Bendis, sic,[1] cheveroune, *and* barris[2] sure;
Thaim blason first, gif therin the feld be;
quhat euer he bere, *and* be it quarterlie.[3]

Than to begin at colour in the rycht sid:
and it is said, non armes may be cald — It is said that no arms are proper, unless gold and silver are in them.
propirly set, bot therin be to-gid
Gold or siluer in the sammyn to behold.[4]
And for repreve to blase, men wise be schuld.
ffour thingis in armes bot onys suld namyt be,
Onis of, onis in, onys withe, *and* onys to see;

Quhiche, gif he may forbere, it is the bet. — *Roundles* have diverse names,
and als in armis ar sertene rondis,[5] as ball,

[1] ? fess, the *fece* of l. 113, which is another ordinary.

[2] Bends, chevrons, and bars are three of the somewhat numerous "ordinaries" so called from their frequent use. In "*blazoning*" (i. e. describing the coat in words) the ordinary is always mentioned before any other charge (such as bird, beast, &c.), that there may be in the arms. *Query*, What are the *four* things in the line above? only three are mentioned. Can "sic" be a mistake for "fess," which is another ordinary?

[3] If the coat is quarterly, the colour (or metal) on the dexter side of the coat (i. e. that opposite one's left hand) is to be "blazoned" as the first.

[4] Some say no arms are correct unless therein is either gold or silver.

[5] In arms are certain Roundles, which, when gold, are called "bezants," when silver, "plates," when sable, "pellets," when gules, "torteaux," when azure, "hurts," when vert,

according to their colours.

Metalis, colour*is* forsaid figourit *and* set,
Gold, besent*is*; silu*er*, plateis to call;
Sable, polet*is*; goulis, tortes at al;
Asur, hurt*is*; verte, pom*me*; wyndows,[1] purpur.
3hit four thing*is* long*is* to armis in colo*ur*,

Of the Pale,

That is, palès, bend*is*, feces, cheveronis.
*per*pale, evin douñ exte*ndis* throu*ch* *the* myd feild;

Fess,

*per*fess, o*ur*thwert from sid to sid it gon*ne* Is;

Bend,

*per*bend, from ry*cht* corner to left it held;

Chevron, and

per cheveroun*e*, p*ar*t devid wnto iij *the* feild;

Baton.

On*ne* bastone is contrary to a bend:
The ton*ne* from*e* left, *the* to*ther* from*e* ry*cht* sid tend.

None but gentles should wear arms.

Non bot gentillis suld cot*is* of armes were,
Cu*m*my*n* of stok noble, or maid be king*is*;
3it fold[2] wil say of men hernest in gere,

Don't call armed men 'men of arms' unless they are all 'gentle.'

"Ilo men of armis!" *that* is wntrew seyng,
bot al be gentil; *ther*for see suthfast thing,
"Ilo armit men!" 3it to knaw neidful is
xv maner*is* of lionys in armys,

Of the 15 kinds of Lions in Heraldry.

ffirst, a lion*ne* [statant]; on-vthir, lyon*e* ra*m*pand;
Third, saliant; *the* fourt, passand I-wis;
the v. seand; vj mordand; vij cuchand;
the viij dormand; *the* ix regardand is;
The x endorsit; xj cop*ra*y schawis;
The xij copy cont*er* changit aduert;
xiij in nom*er* [morné]; xiiij, liouñ cowert;

And *the* xv cambatand,[3] als to see.
xv maner of croc*is* armis bere:

"pommes," when purpure, "*golpes*,"—*Query*, in text called "windows." (Perhaps from the slanting parallel lines that represent purple in heraldry: compare the fourth meaning of "*window*" in Mahn's Webster, 'A figure formed of lines crossing each other [Rare] "Till he has *windows* on his bread and butter." *King*.'—F.)

[1] ? for 'wounds.' [2] fool, or folk. [3] combatand.

The first, hole croce ; *the* to*ther*, engrelit be ;
The third, awndi ; *the* iiij, paty in feir ;[1]
the v. a crois ; vj, crois flarait cleir ;
vij botand ; viij crosolat ; ix batone ;
x fovrmie ; xj crois fichye ;

Of the 15 kinds of Crosses in Heraldry.

xij sarsile fere ; demolyn xiij ;
xiiij regle ; xv sucylye, sey.
quhat man*er* of best or bird goith rond to sene,
About *the* feld blase it heroun*e* ver*r*ay.[2]
Twa thing*is* *in* armis sal end in schewis a[l]wey ;
Gif *ther* be mo off *thaim than* ij *that* schewis,
As lionne-sewys,[3] to sey, *and* heronne-sewis ;

Three or more Lions and Herons are called Lioncels and Heronsews ;

Bot onne or[4] ij call lioñ or herouñ.
Armis vmdois, ij strak*is* myd feld devid,
ffet[5] ar in armis, *and* ij thing*is* compone
lik to v*ther*, barr *and* fete[5] brode to-gid.
Als certane thing*is* plurar in armis go,
As flour*is* to blase, and pellett*is* with thoo

but 1 or 2, Lion or Heron.

Of Bars and Frets.

Not be to namyt, gif he beire mo *than* ij,
Bot *thus* flowr*is* florate to blase rycht.
thre thing*is* in armes ȝit be lik v*ther*is evin,
Tortes, tortell pellett*is*, pellett hecht,
Fussewis,[6] masklewis, *and* losing*is* *thus* plicht.
Be ther mony fussewis,[7] masklewis[8] *thaim* call,
And loseng*is* ȝit in armys w*ith*-all.

Of Torteaux, Tortell-pellets, and Pellets.

Of Fusils, Mascles, and Lozenges.

Ale man*er* of best to blase, sey 'be armit,'
and al bird*is*, sey 'membrit' saufly :
Girphinne,[9] ba*ith* bird *and* best, we suld call it

Call beasts *armed* ; birds, *membred* ;

griffins, *membred and armed*.

[1] ? for 'enteir.' [2] ? for 'inurne.'
[3] lioncel. '*Lioncels*, the Heralds Term for Lions, when there is more than Two of them born in any Coat of Arms, and no Ordinary between them; and 'tis all one with a small or young Lion.'— *Gloss. Angl. Nova.*
[4] MS on. [5] ? fret or fess.
[6] ? MS 'Suffewis.' The same things elsewhere in the MS are called 'fusees' and 'fussel.' [7] ? MS 'fuffewis.'
[8] mascle. [9] Griffons.

To blase, 'mem*b*rit *and* armyt' bo*ith* Iustly.
ȝit in armes, pictes[1] *and* delphes espy.
Billett*is*, hewmat*is*,[2] *and* ij indentur*is* be,
P*er*pale cheveroun*e*, p*er*pale glondes to se.

Legs and heads may be *erased*. [See note to l. 26.]

Thir*e* be also raschit, as lege or heid,
wiche gerondy[3] verry *and* belly told : [?]
In quhat metallis or colour*is* *that* *th*ai sted,
quhat thing*is* *th*ai be, ful attently behóld :
ffigour, form*e*, flo*ur*, or quhat mat*er* on mold,
In armes set, *and* so blase discretly ;
And quho siche ber*is*, study weil, *and* espy.

You may blazon Ermine and Vair, furs of beasts,

ȝhit sum hald*is* *in* armis ij c*er*tane thing*is*,
Nothir metall*is* nor colour*is* to blasoun*e*,
Ermyne *and* werr, callit panis, bestly furring,[4]
And haldin so w*ith*out o*ther* discripcioun*e*.
All attentik armys of hie renoun*e*
Of al estat*is*, and general of al m*a*nis,
Bene set in this metallis, colour*is*, *and* panys.

which were found after the precious stones,

Quhiche honorable in al armis forsaid,
war first fundyn eftir *th*e p*re*ciouse stanys,
In nombyr few, and so costly araid,
That al noblay may not gudly at anys
Actene *ther*to : *th*an law of armys disponys
ffor *th*eme be sett *and* portrait w*ith* pictour*is*,
In feild*is*, *th*e seid metallis *and* *ther* colour*is* ;

that came first from Paradise.

The quhiche stanis come first frome p*a*radice,
*th*airfor *th*ai ar so p*re*cyus singlare.
quha will study his witt*is*, *and* conter*p*ace

How planets,

The hie planet*is*, and signis of the aire,
Symylitud*is* of *th*aim he may fynd there

beasts, herbs, &c., may be blazoned,

ffor to blasoun, *and* alse in bestiall,
In erbis, foullis, *and* fischis *ther*w*ith*all ;

[1] ? for 'pikes.' [2] humet. [3] gyronny.
[4] *furs*, called less properly *pann* (or cloth).

How *thai* be born, in quhat kind*is*, *and* quhare,
also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
That I refer to my lord*is* to declair,
king*is* of armes, *and* herald*is* of prudens,
and p*er*sewant*is*, *and* grant my negligens
*thai*t I suld not attempe *thus* to *com*moune,
Bot of *ther* grace, correctioune, *and* p*ar*doune,

I refer to my lords, the King of Arms, and Heralds,

ffor, as I red, p*rincis* of nobillest mynd,
And spec*ia*ly *thi*s seid Iulius cesar,
ther attentik worthi ordo*ur* did fynd,
fful honorable in erth, *and* necesser,
To bere armes, blasoune, *and* to prefer
Vthir officia*ris* in honour, as I schall
Schaw causis quhy of *thi*s ordour regall,

who were honoured by Julius Cæsar and other princes of the noblest mind.

Quhiche ascend*is*, create be greis thre:
first, p*er*sewant; syn, herald; *and th*an king;
Ichone of *thi*s being gre aboue gre,
Be land *and* see p*re*uilegit in al thing,
In werre *and* peice, batell, p*ro*vince *and* ring,
Ceté, castellis, p*ar*liament*is* p*re*rogative,
Amang p*rincis* trew reuerendar*is* to schrive.

Of Heralds are 3 orders:
1. Poursuivant.
2. Herald.
3. King, the highest.

Oure al *the* warld, *and* erast Amang *the* best,
thir p*re*ambulis *and* discr*i*pcionis proced*is*,
all thing*is* be takin treuly as *thai* attest,
ay liscenciat *and* lovit *with* al led*is*,
Noblis, v*er*gynis, *and* wedois in *ther* ned*is*,
Of holy chirche *the* sure feith *thai* support,
At *ther* power*is* causing to al consort.

Heralds' decrees are obeyed by all, as Heralds are loved by all, are the protectors of all needy, and the support of Holy Church.

W*ith*outin quha*m*, hon*er*able act*is* in armis
wirschipfully is seldi*m* donne, we se,
ffor ded of lif, fauo*ur*, hatrent, or harmis,
Eue*r* *thai* attest *the* ver*ra*y verite,
quhar na man may laubo*ur* for Inymyte,
ther *thai* proced, eue*r* schawing *the* best;
w*ith*outtin quha*m*, quha mych*t* mater*is* degest.

Without Heralds great deeds of arms are seldom done.

This noble Order,

This hie ourdour noble *and* necessary,
prince of peté, *and* Iuge amang gentrice,
most behuffull tretaris of trowith no vary,

movers of good,

Mewaris of goud, *and* mesaris of malice,

wells of knowledge,

wellis of cunnyng, *and* trowit in kingly wise,
Mansuete maneryt so *ther* meritis requiris,
Ther dewiteis al digniteis desiris.

may God the Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, save,

Señ it is so, our souerane Lord most hie,
The thre personis resting in o godheid,
and one in thre, *the* hali trinite,
the blissit vergin of quhom god tuk manheid,
Saif *this* ordour, prudently to proceid

to promote love among Christian kings!

Amang kingis, princis, liegis *and* lordis;
Of cristindome to cause luf *and* concordis!

And my insufficiency, do you, Heralds,

And I confess my simple insufficiens:
llitil haf I sene, *and* reportit weil less,
of *this* materis to haf experience.
Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express,
In my waiknes, *and* not of wilfulnes,

my lords, correct and complete!

my seid lordis correk me diligent,
To maid menis, or sey *the* remanent!

NOTES TO A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman: its English origin appears clearly from the phraseology, distinctions and conceits, e. g. the nomenclature of *roundles*, which was never adopted in Scotland, where the simpler phraseology employed in France was in use. The spelling *(quhill, quham,* &c.) is certainly often Scotch, but for that the Scotch transcriber, Loutfut, is doubtless answerable. Sir William Comyn (or Cumming), of Inverallochy, described in the heading of the poem Marchmont Herald, is best known as Lyon king of Arms from 1512 onwards, an office in which he seems to have immediately preceded Sir David Lyndsay. It is no small indication of the weight attached to Lyon's office, and the sacredness of his person, at that period, that in 1515 Lord Drummond, one of the most powerful of the Scotch nobles of his day, was declared guilty of treason, attainted, and sentenced to confinement in Blackness castle, for giving Comyn a blow with his fist, 'dum eum de ineptiis suis admoneret.' The poem seems to belong to a period later than Nicolas Upton (1440) and the Book of St Albans (1486), but must be earlier than Gerard Legh (1562), John Boswell (1572), and Sir John Ferne (1586), the three principal heraldic writers of the Elizabethan age. No very

old Scotch systematic treatises on Heraldry exist in print, and apparently none in manuscript, though there are numerous books of blazonry and illuminated collections of arms in MS. of the 16th century. Mackenzie in the 17th, and the more elaborate Nisbet in the 18th century, are the great Scotch authorities. Loutfut the transcriber had probably not been very thoroughly instructed in the science of arms, as he has mistaken words, and made blunders of copyism to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to unravel the meaning of the text.

l. 46. 'Aglot,' a misreading for annulet, the usual difference for a fifth son. The 'eaglet,' or young eagle, for which the transcriber has taken the word, is a common bearing in English heraldry, though not one of the recognized marks of cadency.

l. 51-53. The mention of the settlement of Britain by Brutus is sufficient proof of the English origin of the poem. From the 14th century downwards, one of the principal points on which the hotly-contested question of Scottish independence was supposed to hinge, was whether the English story of the colonization of Britain by the sons of the Trojan hero Brutus was true or false. It was stoutly denied by the Scots, who traced the foundation of their nationality up to the Greek Gathelus and his wife Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh who protected the infant Moses; and no Scotsman of the 15th or 16th century would have given his *imprimatur* to the Brutus story.

l. 64-70. Four colours are proper, being pure colours: purpure, being a mixed colour, is less proper though 'suffered' in arms: an assertion to be found in nearly similar words in various old French and Spanish as well as English works on arms. Numerical conceits were greatly in favour among the old heralds, and are a key to half the pedantries and anomalies that have crept into heraldic nomenclature and classification. *Four* and *fifteen* are numbers especially favoured by the author of this poem—and the impropriety of purpure is set forth in order to show four to be the proper number of colours. A great many of the old writers on arms, including particularly Dame Juliana Berners and Gerard Legh, favour nine above all other numbers. It was three times the number of the Trinity,—there were nine virtues, nine orders of angels, nine muses, nine beatitudes, nine male worthies, and nine female worthies. The Book of St Albans says: 'This lawe of armys was founded on the IX order of angellys in heven encrownyd vith precyous stonys of colour and of vertues dyvers. Also of theym are fyguryed the colours in armys.' Dame Juliana Legh, and other writers, to obtain their nine tinctures (colours and metals), bring in not only purpure, which was rare, but sanguine and tenny, which were never in use. Sylvanus Morgan (1661), on the other hand, inclines to reject purpure altogether, while Spelman exalts it above every other tincture. One of the results of this determination to resolve everything to nine, was the addition by Legh to the six marks of cadency in actual use, of the rose, crossmoline, and double quaterfoil, which were never really used. They are again rejected in the latest edition of Legh's 'Accedens,' as also by Bosswell: but are nevertheless retained in many of the modern elementary works on Heraldry.

l. 96. One would almost be inclined to think that the word printed 'sic' must have been originally 'pale' rather than fess, or else that 'barris' stands for 'pales;' it seems unlikely that both bar and fess would be enumerated and pale omitted among the four things that 'brekis' arms; a more correct idea, by the way, of the common character of the 'Honourable Ordinaries' than is to be found in most of the old authorities.

l. 104-106. 'Thyse thre termes, Of, And, Wyth, shall not be rehercyd in armis but onys ony of them.'—*Book of St Albans.*

'There are fower wordes, whereof you may not name any of them twise in the blazonne of one cote, & these be they: Of, On, And, With. These may

not be spoken any more than once in one cote : if they be, it is accompted such a fault, as he that committed the same is not worthy to blaze a cote.'—*Gerard Legh.*

l. 111. 'wyndows,' i. e. 'wounds.' Roundles purpure are so called by Bosswell, the derivation being obvious. Most heralds prefer the name 'golpes.'

l. 127-134. Of the fifteen lions enumerated, the designations of the first and thirteenth are omitted, doubtless by the transcriber's oversight. As to the eleventh 'copray,' query if tricorporate?

l. 135-142. Of the fifteen crosses mentioned, the third is 'undy.' The fourth, 'paty,' is probably meant for 'patoncée,' formée (identical with patée) being separately enumerated. The specific character of the fifth is omitted; the fourteenth is 'raguly.' Is 'sucylye' (the fifteenth) 'resarcelée'? 'Sarcelée' had been already enumerated as the thirteenth cross.

l. 143-4. 'Verray' must surely stand for 'enurny,' the term used in French and sometimes in English heraldry for a bordure charged with any animal.

l. 152-155. These lines are unintelligible as they stand. It cannot be meant that fleurs-de-lis or pellets should not be named, or their number stated, if there are more than *two*. But if for "ij" we read "viij" the sense is at once apparent, as we come exactly to the dictum of the old heralds, and the word *eight* is an admissible rhyme to '*rycht*' in the succeeding line.

l. 156, 157, are a little obscure. Tortell pellets, according to the nomenclature of some old heralds, would be identical with pellets or roundles sable. If so, but two things are named, not three. Menestrier uses the term "torteau = besant," for a roundle parted per fess gules and or; and it is conceivable that the herald-poet may mean by torteaux-pellets, roundles parted per fess gules and sable: but in any view there seems little point in this passage.

l. 158-160 are also a little unsatisfactory. Fusils, mascles, and lozenges are of course things 'like utheris even'—but why should fusils, when multiplied in number, be called mascles? If however for the words 'fussewis,' 'masklewis,' in l. 159, and 'losengis' in l. 160, we read *fusilly, mascally, lozengy*, the sense is clear, viz. if there be many fusils, mascles or lozenges, blazon the field fusilly, mascally or lozengy.

l. 165. 'pictes,' i. e. pikes.

l. 166-169. This passage, though rather unintelligible as it stands, evidently refers to the division of the shield by partition lines, a subject which has been made the theme of much obscure pedantry by the early heralds, whose distinctions are by no means exactly observed by the poet. What 'glondes' stands for, I cannot make out. Two modes of dividing the field called 'pynyons,' are given in the Book of St Albans, of which the latter is 'cheverounce, and that may be clawry, counterly, quarterly, gerery, and byally.' 'Gereri' is 'whan thre cheverounce be togyder or moo,' corresponding to our gyronny of six or of eight. 'Byally,' the word which appears as 'belly' in l. 169, is 'whan a barre is betwean two cheffrounce,' another variety of the gyronny of six of later heralds. l. 168 seems to say that a *partition line* may (as well as a leg or head) be 'raschit,' or erased. A line dancetté, or sometimes with indentations more like those of an erased head or leg, is called 'rasit' or erased by Upton, Dame Juliana, and Sir John Ferne. 'Gerondy' is, according to the Book of St Albans, 'gereri' (or gyronny of nine) with a fessitarget (i. e. an escutcheon of pretence) in the centre of the shield. 'Verry,' or vairé, is by the same authority enumerated, not as a fur only, but as a mode of parting the shield 'when the field is made like gobolettys of dyvers colours.' Along with checky and undy, it is enumerated as one of the 'Coat armoures grytty.'

Occleve,

[*Laud MS* 735 (*formerly* K. 78), *Bodl. Libr.*]

¶ Of pride & of waste clothynge of lordis mene, which is A-zens her Astate.[1] [No. 12.]

[leaf 67]

¶ I. wate wele, sone, of me *þus* wilt þou think:
"This old doted greseH hold hym wyse;
He wenyth make in my hert synke
His lewde clappe, of which I sett no prys.
He is A nobuH *prechour* as [I] devyse!
Greet noys hath þurgh his chymynge lyppes drye;
This day owt past the dewle in his ye."

My son, to this complaint of mine you 'll say, 'This old fool of a grizzle thinks himself very wise, but I don't mind his stupid clapper!'

¶ But thogh y hold *and* hore be now, sone myn,
And pore be my clothing And Aray,
And not so wyde A gowne As is thyn,
So smaH y-pynchyd, ne so fressh *and* gay;
My rede, in hap, 3ett the *profyte* may;
And likly, *þat* þow demyst for foly,
Is g[r]etter wisdom þan þou canst Aspy.

However, though I am hoar and poor,

[leaf 67, back] my counsel may profit you.

¶ Vndir An olde pore Abyte regneth ofte
Grete *vurtew*, thogh it mostre poorely;
And wher as grete Aray is vp-on loft,
Vice is but seldom hid; *þat* wele wote I.
Butt not reporte, I. pray þe Inwardly,
That fressh Aray y. *gener*ally deprave;
þes worthi men mow fuH weel it have.

An old coat often covers virtue;

while a fine one hides vice.

But I don't run down new clothes;

[1] See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 139; and my ed. of *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. x, p. 62, l. 129-32.

only, it *is* an abuse for a man to wear a scarlet robe 12 yards wide, and sleeves hanging on the ground, with £20 worth of fur on 'em.

¶ Butt þ^is me thynkiṫ an) Abusion),
To sene one walke in A robe of scarlet
xij ȝerdis wide, *with* pendaunt slevis down)
On) the ground, and þ^e furrur *þer*-in sette,
Amountyng' vn)-to xx.li. or bette;
And ȝef he for it payd, hatḥ he no good
Leffte hym) wher'-*with* to by hym)-selff An) hood.

Such a man has an empty purse, and only what he stands upright in.

¶ For thogḥ he gete forṫ A-mong' the prees,
And ou*ere*-looke eu*ere* poore wight*e*,
His cofre *and* eke his purs I. trow be peneles;
He hatḥ no more than) he gotḥ yn vp-right*e*;
For lond, rent, or cateH, he may go lyght*e*;
The weght*e* of hem) shaH not so mycḥ peyse
As doth his gown)! is suchḥ Aray to prayse?

It stinks in my nostrils to see such a poor beggar imitate his lord!

¶ Nay sothly, sone, it is aH mys, me thynkiṫ!
So poor' A wight' his lord to contrefett
In) his Aray! yn) my conceyt it stynkiṫ!
Certes, to blame bene þ^e lordes grete,
ȝef·þ*at*, I. durst sey, they her' men) lete
Vsurpe suchḥ lordly Apparayle.
It is not worthy, my child, w*ith*-out fayle.

In old time you could tell a Lord by his dress; but now you hardly can.

¶ Some [tyme] A-farre men) myght*e* lord*es* knaw
By her' Aray from) o*þer* folk, or now.
A man) shaH stodye or musyn) now A long' throw
Whicḥ is whicḥ. O lordes! it sittes to ȝow!
Amend this! for it is for ȝour' prow.
ȝef by-twen) ȝow *and* ȝour' men) no defference
Be [in] þyn) Aray, lesse is ȝour' reu*ere*nce.

[leaf 68] Another great waste is, to use a yard of broad cloth in a man's tippet.

¶ Also *þer* is another' newe Iett,
A fowle wast of cloth, *and* excessyf:
Ther' gotḥ no lasse in A mannes typett'
þan) of brode clothḥ A ȝerd, be my lyf!
Me thynkith þ^is A verrey indultyf
Vn)-to þ^e stelṫ. were hem) of hempen) lane!
For stelṫ is medid *with* A chekelew bane.

It incites to stealth, and Hempen Lane.

¶ Let euere lorde his Awn̄ men̄ defende
Suc̄h gret Aray; And þan̄, on̄ my peryH,
This lande within A while soon̄ shaH Amende.
Now, in goddes name, put it in exile!
Hit is synne outrageous And vyle!
Lordis! if ȝe ȝour̄ Astate *and* honour̄
Loven̄, flemyt̄h this vicious errour̄!

Every Lord should forbid such array to his men.

¶ What is A lord *with*-oute his mene?
I. putt case, þat his foos hym̄ Asayle
Sodenly in þ^e^ strete: what helpp shaH he
Whos sleves encombrous so syde trayle,
Do to his lorde? he may hym̄ not Avayle!
In suc̄h A case he nys but A woman̄;
He may not stande hym̄ *in*-stede of a man̄.

Suppose a Lord is attacked in the street. What help can a man with these wide sleeves give him?

The man 's only a woman!

¶ His Armes twoo have righte y-now to don̄,
And sum*what* more, his sleves vp to hold.
The tayllours, y trowe, mote her̄-after sone
Shape in þ^e^ feld; þ^ei^ shuH not shape *and* folde
On̄ her̄ boord, þoḡh þ^ei^ neu*er* so fayn̄ wolde;
The cloth̄ þat shaH be in A gown̄ wroghte,
Take an̄ hole cloth̄ is best, for̄ lasse is noghte.

His arms have more than enough to do in holding up his sleeves.

Tailors 'll soon be obliged to cut out their clothes in a field.

¶ The skynner̄ vn̄-to þ^e^ felde mote Also;
His hous in london̄ is so streyt *and* scars
To don̄ his crafte. sum tyme it was not so.
O lord*es*! ȝeve ȝe vn̄-to ȝour̄ men̄ her̄ pars
That so don̄, and queynt hem̄ bett *with* mars,
God of bateH! he loveth̄ non̄ Aray
That hurtit̄h manhod at *pre*ffe or Assay.

And Skinners must take to fields too for their craft.

Lords, make your men know Mars better!

¶ Who now most may bere on̄ his bak at ons
Off cloth̄ And furrour̄, hath a fressh̄ renoun̄;
He is 'A lusty man̄' clepyd for the nones.
Butt drapers And eke skynners in þ^e^ town̄
For suc̄h folke han̄ A speciaH orison̄
That florisshid is with̄ curses here *and* there,
And Ay shaH tiH þ^ei^ be payd of her̄ gere.

Whoever has most cloth on his back is called 'a lusty man.'

[leaf 63, back] But don't the drapers curse him till he pays for his gear!

Whilom, small dress,

¶ In day[e]s olde, whan̄ smaⱡⱡ Apparaiⱡⱡ
Suffised vn̄-to hy Astate or mene,

full households;

Was grete howsholde stuffid with vitaiⱡⱡ;

now, lean households,

But now howsholdes be fuⱡⱡ scars *and* lene,
For Aⱡⱡ þe good þat men̄ may repe *and* glene,

outrageous array,

Waystid is in outrageous Aray,
So þat howsoldis men̄ ne holde may.

but hungry bellies.

¶ Pride hath̄ weel levere bere An̄ hungry maw
To bed, þan̄ lak of Aray outrage;
He no price settith̄ by mesures law,
Ne takith̄ of hym̄ cloth̄, [ne] mete, ne wage;

Moderation 's gone a pilgrimage.

Mesure is owt of land on̄ pilgremage;
Butt I. suppose he shaⱡⱡ restore as blyve,
For verrey nede wol vs þer-to dryve.

As Lords set the fashion,

¶ Ther̄ may no lord̄ take vp no new gyse,
Butt þat A knafe shaⱡⱡ þe same vp take.

let Lords wear quiet gowns, as of old;

þan̄, ȝef lordes wolden̄ in this wisse
For to do such̄ gownes for̄ hem̄ make
As men̄ did in old̄ tyme, I. vndirtake

other folk would follow, and give up costly extravagance.

The same get wold vp be take and vsyd,
And aⱡⱡ þe costlew owtrage refusid.

[Follows:—**Nota bene þe good duke of loncastre.** [N°] 13.
¶ Off lancastre duke Iohn̄ whos savle *in* heven̄.]

Tippet, l. 52, p. 106. '*Tippet*. The pendent streamer from the arm (p. 98), the extra cape or covering for the shoulders. The long pendant from the arm (See *Liripipe*).

"On holydayes before her he wold go
With his *typet* bound about his head."
Chaucer: Reeve's Tale;' in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 598.

'To the pendent streamers from the hood were now added others from the elbow. They first appear as narrow elongations from the sleeve of the upper-tunic or cote-hardie; they afterwards assume the form of long narrow strips of white cloth, and were called *tippets*, generally reaching from the elbow to the knee, or lower.'—*ib.* p. 98.

EXTRACT FROM

Sir Peter Idle's Directions to his Son,

(*Camb. Univ. Lib. MS, Ee* 4, 37.)

Lete thy tonge not clakke as a mille,
Medle not of eche mannes mat*er*e;
Kepe w*ith*in thi breste that may be stille;[1]
In tauernes also, not clappe ne clat*er*.
Wade not so depe into the wat*er*
But þat þou may com out at thyñ owne plesir,
And not tabide thyñ enemys leisour'.

Therfore be not talewyse in no manere;[2]
In worde be ware, it is harde to triste;
Telle neu*er* the more, though þou moche hire;
Kepe in cloos, as tresour' in cheste.
And be *þou* lowely and honest
To riche and pouere, in worde and dede,
And then thy name to worshyp shall sprede.

[3] What man *þou* ser*v*e, Loke *þou* hym drede;
His goode as thyñ, *þou* kepe and spare;
Lete neu*er* thy will thy witte ouerlede;
Be lowly in ser*u*ice, and love his welfare;
And if þou wilt be out of drede and care,
Restreyne and kepe well thy tonge:
Thus, childre, lerne while ye be yonge.

Be true in worde, werke, and dede,[4]
And flee doublenes in all wyse.
Throghe all the worlde in lengthe and brede,
Gret*ter* vertues can no man devise,
And sonnest to worship causeth mañ to rise.

Don't let your tongue clack like a mill,

or clatter in taverns.

Don't be censorious.

Be lowly and respectful.

Take care of your master's goods as your own.

Restrain your tongue.

Flee doubleness.

[1] What ought to be kept quiet.
[2] See The Wise Man in *Babees Book*, p. 49, l. 26.
[3] Compare lines 5—7 of p. 34 of *Babees Book*.
[4] See *Babees Book*, p. 19, l. 39.

Don't invent stories.

Be not Autour also of tales newe,
For callyng to rehersaill, lest þou it rewe.

Al-so, sone, this lesson y the leere:
Mind what you say to people:
To whom þou speke, haue goode mynde,
And of whom, how, whēn, and where;
a friend now may be a foe to-morrow.
For now a frende, thus sone unkynde.
Therfore, wher euer þou Ride or wende,
[1] Speke cloos all thyng', as thombe in fiste,
And euer be ware of hadd-y-wyste.

Joke with your equals only.

[2] If thow shalt borde, Iape with thy peere,
And leve thy pleye whan it is beste,
Put up with a hard word.
And suffre a grete worde, for manere;
For better is the tree þat bowe þan breste;
It is an unclene birde defouleth his neste;
Learn courtesy and virtue.
Therfore, as a gentilmañ lerne curtesie and vertu;
All honour' and worshipp̄ therof shall sue.

Don't laugh when your mates are rebuked.

Thoughe thy feelowe in defaute be founde,
Make therof no laugheng', sporte, ne Iape;
For ofte tymes it doith rebounde
Vppon hym þat list to crie and gape.
Vse not to scorne and mocke as an Ape;
For he þat list suche folies for to vse,
Alle honest felawship̄ hym woll refuse.

Keep your clothes clean,

Looke, suche clothyng as þou shalt weere,
Keepe hem as clenly as þou cañ,[3]
And all the Rememant of thy geere;
(for they oft make a man,)
For clothyng ofte maketh mañ.[4]
and as pure as flour bolted from the bran.
Be as pure as flour takeñ fro the branñ
In all thy clothyng' and al þyn arraye;
But goo not to ouer nyce gay.

[1] ? *for* Kepe. [2] Cp. lines 13—16, p. 34 of *Babees Book*.
[3] See *Babees Book*, l. 161-8.
[4] See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under *fol*), *Babees Book*, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.

NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY.

p. 3. *Sir John Cheke, and English.*—And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English language. Dr Wylson asserted, that he had better skill in our English speech, to judge of the phrases and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else had that he knew ; and that he was thought, by some judicious men, greatly to have improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English ; whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding unto the author, but enabled his hearers the better to judge of the things, and to perfect their tongue and utterance, as was remembered before."—*Strype's Life of Cheke*, p. 162.

p. 6. *Statute touching Multiplication.*—The statute alluded to is 5 Hen. IV. cap. 5.—" It is ordained and stablished, That none from henceforth shall vse to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the Craft of *Multiplication :* And if any the same do, and be thereof attaint, that he incur the Pain of Felony in this Case." '*Multiplication of Gold* or *Silver*, the Art of encreasing those Metals, which in the Time of K. Henry IV was presum'd possible to be effected by means of Elixirs, or other Chymical Compositions, and therefore forbidden to be put in Practice, under Pain of being liable to the Punishment of Felony, by a Statute made in the fifth Year of his Reign.'—*Kersey's Phillips*, ed. 1706.

p. 7. *Dispensation against the Statute of Roages.*—" Fencers " are mentioned in the list of persons who are to be deemed " Roges and Vacaboundes," in 14 Eliz. cap. 5. sec. 5 (A. D. 1572) : "and all Fencers, Bearewardes, Comon Players in Enterludes, *and* minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or towardes any other honorable Personage of greater Degree."

p. 7. *Bandora.* A large instrument of the lute kind, with six strings of wire, invented in 1562, says Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.*, by John Rose, citizen of London, dwelling in Bridewell. Heywood, in his *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, compares a lady's hair to "bandora *wires*." The Bandora was much used in Elizabeth's reign, especially with the Cittern, to which it formed the appropriate base.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, i 224, note *a ;* ii. 776. 'The name of the instrument is from the *πανδουρα*, which the Greeks borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. That was also a long-necked instrument of the same kind, but with three *gut* strings. This is called " a Guitar " by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians*' (Mr Chappell's MS. Note). The *Cittern* was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the 18th century, but had only four double strings of wire, that is, two to each note. The *Lute* has been superseded by the guitar, though in tone it is decidedly superior to the guitar, being larger, and having a convex back nearly resembling the vertical section of a pear. It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was 11 or 12, five at least were doubled ; the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string.—*Chappell*, i. 101-2.

p. 8. *Marte.* 'He alludes to the foreign Book-Fairs.'—H. Ellis.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Where two numbers occur, as 96/76, the first refers to the page, the second to the numbered line on that page. The above reference will be p. 96, l. 76 of the Poem on Heraldry.

ABROCHE, 79/3, 'To set abroche,' to tap.

Abusion, 106/22, abuse.

Aduert, 97/88, 98/132

Aduertence, 79/12, 'Hathe none aduertence' = gives no attention.

Aduoure, 29, 30. Patron. *See* Avowry *and note*, p. 30.

Aglot, 95/46, annulet. See note, p. 95, 103.

Alleage, 3, Allege, refer to, quote.

Allonli, 66/24, only, alone.

Amathis, 96/76, amethyst.

Ambes ase, 81/52, the two aces, the lowest throw in the dice; bad luck.

'Your bagges be not filld with *ambes ace*.' Chaucer, 4544.

And, 29, if.

And, in Heraldry, 97/104-6, and note, p. 103.

Apallyd, 83/119. Ale appallyd = weak or thin Ale = small beer.

Appose, 3, to question, pose.

'Whon þe peple him *a-posed* with a peny in þe Temple.'
P. Plow. Pass. I., 45. Ed. Skeat.

Armit, 99/161, armed of a different colour from the rest of the body;—said of animals generally.

A-sele, 80/16, to seal; to stamp.

'All Brewsters and Gannokers [to] selle a gallon [of] ale, of the best, be measure *a-selyd*, for 1*d. ob.*' *P. Parv.*, p. 186, note.

A-sesythe, 83/135. The *Harl.* MS. probably gives the correct reading—*ensealed*.

Assaye, 13, 17, 'tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it.'

Asterte, 97/89 ?

Asur, 96/66, azure, one of the heraldic colours. 'Asur, the saphir set,' 96/75

Attemperance, 65/11, moderation, temperance.

Audur, 86/16, either.

Avowry, 33. Cognizance, badge, distinction. See note, p. 30.

Awcomistrie, 6, alchemistry, alchemy.

Awles, 85/17; 88/6, aweless; without reverence.

Awndi, 99/137, undeé, wavy; a kind of cross in heraldry. See note, p. 104.

Awne, 47/112, own.

Awreke, 68/19, avenged.

Bandora, 7. A kind of lute with six strings. See note, p. 111.

Barbe, 26, a hood, or muffler, which covered the lower part of the face.

Barris, 97/96, bars: a bar is an ordinary which crosses the shield horizontally: it occupies one-fifth of the field.

Barves, 30.

Bastone, 98/118, baton; a bar on an escutcheon, usually denoting bastardy.

Batone, 99/139 ? *Cross patoncée;* i. e. a cross fleurie expanded. See note, p. 104.

Bawdkyn, 35, a precious kind of stuff.

Belly, 100/169, Byally is when a bar is between two chevrons. See note, p. 104.

Belwedyr, 84/147, bell-wether.

Bendis, 98/113, bends; a bend is an ordinary crossing the shield diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base.

Besentis, 98/109, a circle in *or*, i. e. gold, representing the coin a bezant.

Beste, 29, beast, i. e. crest. See note, p. 37.

Bestiall, 100/194, pertaining to animals. Not used in a bad sense.

Bestly, 100/177, of beasts.

Better, 19; 58/7, a superior in rank.

Billettis, 100/166; a billet is a bearing of a rectangular oblong figure.

Blawmanger, 90, blancmange.

Blyve, 108/104, quickly.

Bookish, 4, bookish circumstances = rules found in books; theories.

Borias, 81/54, boreas, the north wind.

Borowurd, 68/14, borrowed.

Botand, 99/139, ? a kind of cross in heraldry.

Braydythe, 82/86. 'Whos promys braydythe on duplicite' = whose promise is founded on duplicity.

Brownte, 81/54, burnt, brunt.

Bryste, 50/188, bright, showy.

Bwn, xiii, Bum. See *Jamieson.*

Bye, 62/184, 'Set þem not bye.' To honour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes. Psa. xv. 4, P. B. vers.

Byteres, 91, bitterns.

Callot, 40/29, a scold or drab.

Cambatand, 98/134, a kind of lion in heraldry. Two rampant lions, face to face, are said to be *combatant.*

Cambrel, 43/144, gambrel, a crooked piece of wood used by butchers. See note, p. 43.

Canne, 60/124, can, a vessel.

Canne, 58/76, knowest.

Canonrie, 4, gunnery.

Cassidone, 96/77, chalcedony.

Certeyne, 30, a certeyne of innocentes = a certain number of children.

Chalain, xx, ? claim.

Chare de wardon, 91. ? Apple marmalade. See note 2, p. 91.

Chekelew, 106/56. The Digby MS, according to Halliwell, reads *chokelew;* choking, strangling.

Cheveroune, 97/96, chevron, an honourable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house meeting at the top.

Childe, 34, shield.

Chimice, 5, chemical.

Chyffe, 79/9, chief.

Clappe, 105/4, chatter.

Clowrys, 81/44, bareyne clowrys = barren fields.

Comodities, 10, advantages.

Connynge, 69/50, knowledge.

Contacowre, 66/36, a quarrelsome person.

Conterpace, 100/191, ? counterpoise; weigh, ponder over, consider.

Convalit, 93/2, to increase, grow strong.

Copy, 98/132, *couped*. When a portion of any animal is cut clean off, it is said to be *couped*. See next.

Copray, 98/131, one of the kinds of lions used in heraldry. Query *coupé*, Fr. See note, p. 104.

Cornyfyn ? xx.

Coronell, ix (Span.), Colonel.

Costlew, 108/112, costly.

Costrel, 38. *Costrel*, bottle-holder, attendant; from Costrell, a bottle of earth or wood, having ears by which it was suspended at the side.

"A youth, that, following with a *costrel*, bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine."—*Tennyson.*
Webster's Dict. by Mahn.

Cottage, 38, doing cottier's work.

Couente, 79/2, convent, company.

Courne, 49/148, corn. *See* Stryte.

Conter changit, 98/132, counter-changed. *Counter-changed*, in heraldry, is when there is a mutual changing of the Colours of the Field and Charge in an Escutcheon, by reason of one or more Lines of Partition.—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*

Creme boylle, 91, boiled cream.

Cowert, 98/133, coward. One of the kinds of lions in heraldry; a lion with its tail between its legs.

Crache, 58/63, scratch.

Cressent, 95/44. A crescent in heraldry is the half-moon with the horns turned upward. A second son differences his arms with a crescent.

Crosolat, 99/139, crosslet, one of the kinds of crosses used in heraldry; it has each of its limbs crossed.

Crustades, 90, a dish in cookery.

Crysdome, 57/26, Christendom.

Cryspes fryeȝ, 91, fried crisps or batter-cakes. The recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 99, is:

xxvi. For to make cryppys. Nym flour and wytys of eyryn, sugur other hony, and sweyng togedere, and make a batour: nym wyte grees, and do yt in a posnet, and cast the batur thereyn, and stury to thou have many [till it will run into lumps, I suppose, *Pegge*: ? till thou have mixture], and tak hem up, and messe hem wyth the frutours, and serve forthe. Cp. 'crespes et vielz sucre,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 92; 'pastés de chappons, et crespes,' *ib.* p. 94; and the recipes for making 'crespes' and 'Crespes à la guise de Tournay,' *ib.* p. 226.

Cuchand, 98/129, couchant; lying down, but with the head erect.

Cytterne, 7, 111, a musical instrument something like a guitar.

Decree, 23, 25, degree, rank.

Defferent, 95/43. A distinction. See note 1, p. 95.

Delice, 95/47, = de-lis, fleur-de-lis.

Delphes, 100/165; a delf in heraldry is a square borne in the middle of an escutcheon, supposed to represent a square rod or turf; an abatement of honour. See *Bailey*.

Demolyn, 99/141, a kind of cross used in heraldry: *a cross moline* has its extremities formed like a *fer de moline* or mill rind; i. e. each limb is divided at the end.

Departysown, 84/151, separation.

Deprave, 105/20, run down: speak lightly of.

Destreche, 53/30, ? constrain.

Det, 96/74, ? Of debt, duly, necessarily. *P. Parv.*

Devid, 98/117, divide.

Dewle, 105/7 ? Dewle or devylle, Diabolus. *P. Parv.*

Dext, 35, desk, the Litany or fald-stool.

Domesman, 88/3, doomsman; judge.

Domusmane, 85/14, doomsman; judge.

Dormand, 98/130, asleep, with its head resting between its legs; *dormant*.

Doucetis, 91, small custards or pasties.

Dowle, 32, dole, or mourning.

Drapers, 107/88.

Dronglew, 82/91, drunken.
And is not *dronkeleuh* ne deynous.
P. Plow. Pass. ix. 75. ed. Skeat.

Dyaburde, 92, diapered.

Egretys, 91, egret, a kind of heron. *Halliwell.*.

Elenge, 66/5. This word is still heard in Kent, where the meaning is lonely, or solitary. In P. Plow. we meet with it as an adverb:—
Alisaundre, that al wan
Elengliche ended.
P. Plough. 7531. ed. Wright.

Emeraut, 96/76, emerald.

Endorsit, 98/131, endorsed in heraldry is when two lions are borne in an escutcheon rampant, and turning their backs to each other: *addorsed*.

Endosyd, 79/8, endorsed.

Enfamynyd, 80/36, hungry.

Engrelit, 99/136, engrailed; indented with curved lines.

Erast, 101/217, chiefly, firstly.

Erneful, 66/5, yearning, anxious.

Exigente, 79/4, ? difficulty.

Exquisitely, 7, well; in a superior manner.

Fage, 81/66, to deceive by falsehood or flattery.

Faill, 12, a woman's upper garment.

Fanyng, 34, ? refers to the *banners* being held.

Farsed, 84/160, filled, stuffed.

Feces, 98/113. Fesses are bands drawn horizontally across the centre of an escutcheon.

Feir, } 99/137, 140, company.
Fere, } See note 1, p. 99.

Felle, 94/16. Fell and wit, cleverness and intelligence.

Fene, 87/20, to feign or fancy.

Fess, for *sic*, 98/96. ? fess: see note, p. 103, on l. 96.

Ffesaunte, 90, pheasant.

Ffet, 99/150, fess?

Ffrumenty with Veneson, 90, cp. 'Desserte: froumentée et venoison.' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 108. Again at the wedding of maistre Jehan de Hautecourt: 'Fromentée, venoison, poires et noix. *Nota* que pour la fromentée convendra trois cens œufs,' *ib.* p. 121. Also, p. 97, &c. (See the Index.)

Ffruter lumbarde, 92, fritters *à la Lombarde*, an ancient dish. See the recipe for *Leche Lombard* in *Babees Book* Index, p. 95, col. 2, from *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; and see *Nares* under *Lumber*; also *Frutour lumbert*, at an Oxford dinner, 1452 A.D. *Reliq. Ant.* i. 88.

Fichye, 99/140, crois fichye means a cross fitchée, that is, having the lower limb pointed.

Flarait, 99/138, *fleurie*, a *cross fleurie* is a cross with fleurs-de-lis issuing from the limbs; but a *cross fleurettée* may be intended. They are almost identical.

Florate, 99/155 ?

Fold, 98/122, folk.

Foltysshe, 81/53; foltishe, 82/90; 83/120, foolish.

Foreman, 25

Forten, 63/215, fortune; happen.

Fourmes, 33, forms, seats.

Fovrmie, 99/140, formée. A cross-formée is a cross small in the centre and widening towards the extremities.

Foys, 61/170, foes.

Foysoun, 84/148, nourishment. 'The natural juice or moisture of the grass.'—*Halliwell.*

Frary, 79/6, friary.

Fremde, 44/22, a stranger.

Frontlet, 26, a forehead band.

Frow, 39/6, fro, from.

Furnishes, 6, furnaces.

Fussewis, 99/158, fusils. A fusil in heraldry is an elongated lozenge. See note, p. 104.

Gase, a gase, 46/61; to gaze, or a-gazing.

Gelee, 90, jelly.

Gentrice, 102/232, gentry.

Gerondy, 100/169. Gyronny, covered with gyrons, or divided so as to form several gyrons; said of an escutcheon. See note, p. 104.

Geton, 29. '*Getoun*, a banner, properly two yards in length.' See p. 29, note.

Girphinne, 99/163, griffons.

Gittovnis, 93/10, Getoun, a banner, properly 2 yards in length: p. 29, note.

Glondes, 100/167? (See note, p. 104.)

Goldy, 96/73, 'Stonne goldy, as thopasis' = gold-coloured stone as the topaz.

Golpes, 104/5.

Gordoll, 40/41, girdle.

Goulis, 96/66, gules; one of the heraldic colours: red. Goulis ruby, 97/92.

Graunte chare, 92. See note 2, p. 92.

Gre, 101/212, degree, rank.

Greis, 101/210. 'Greis thre,' three orders.

Greseꝺ, 105/2, a grizzle, a grumbler.

Gryce, 39/16, a young pig: 'a nantyny gryce,' a Saint Anthony's pig.

Guidon, 32, a kind of standard. See p. 29, note.

Gyglot, 45/49, a giddy romping girl.

Habattes, 33, habits.

Hady-wist, 42/120, 110/35 = had I wist, that is, 'Had I known,' I wouldn't have done it; an expression of regret.

Hafter, 87/41. See note 3, p. 87.

Hallow, 11, to halloo.

Harowlde, 8, herald.

Harrowldrie, 8, heraldry.

Hatrent, 101/226, hatred.

Haute grece, 90, Capon of, high fat; very fat capon.

Hawe, 84/148, haue.

Hempen Lane, 106/55, the gallows.

Heronne-sewis, 99/147, herons.

Heronsewe, 90, 91, the heron or heronshaw.

Heroune, 99/144, heron.

Heþene, hence.

Hewe, 68/21, hew, chop (as chips will fly into your eye).

Hewmatis, 100/166. Humettée in heraldry is a term applied to a chevron: a *cross humettée* is one of which the limbs do not extend to the limits of the shield.

Hoddys, 33, hoods.

Holbeardes, 5, halberds.

Horlde, 57/40.

Hote, 65/18, promise.

Hothe, 54/81, oath.

Hurtis, 98/111, hurtes, in heraldry, are roundels azure.

Hye, 63/225. In hye, quickly.

I, 95/51, in.

Iangelynge, 44/22, 66/9, jangling.

Iett, 106/50, device, fashion.

Iettyng, 66/9, Jutting, strutting, proud.

Indenturis, 100/166, indentations. In heraldry there are two sorts distinguished by the largeness of the teeth; the smaller are said to be *indented;* the larger *dancettée.*

Indultyf, 106/54. Halliwell glosses this word 'Indulgence; luxury:' its meaning clearly is inducement, incitement, which follows naturally from the meaning, 'license.'

Inginer, 4, engineer.

Invre, 70/84, inure, accustom, associate.

Iowe, 80/35, jaw.

Knawe, 80/40, knave.

Labelle, 95/44, label; in heraldry a fillet with pendants, or points, usually three. An eldest son differences his arms with a label.

Lamber, 84/142, lambs.

Leche, 42/102, a physician.

Leche dalmayn, 90; Leche damasque, 91; Leche ffloree, 90; Leche lumbarde, 91; Leche maskelyn, 92; Leche rubby, 92. The name of a dish. The term *leche* is applied to those dishes which were served up in slices. See *Prompt. Parv.* and Halliwell, s. v. *leche.*

Ledis, 101/220, people.

Leiff, 97/86, leaf (of a book).

Lene, 85/7, lend.

Lerid, 65/21, learned.

Lete lardes, 91. See note 11, p. 91.

Lewid, 65/21, lewd, ignorant.

Lifte, 31, left, in opposition to right.

Linth, 94/30, length.

Lionne-sewys, 99/147, lioncels; in heraldry a small lion, especially one of several borne in the same coat of arms, is called a lioncel. See note, p. 99.

Liscenciat, 101/220, licensed, permitted.

Losingis, 99/158, lozenges: in heraldry a lozenge is a diamond-shaped figure. See note, p. 104.

Loutyng, 84/155, bowing, stooping.

Lucyant, xix, bright, shining.

Lure, 11, to call a hawk or other animal.

Lyth, 45/38. 'Lith or limb,' a phrase meaning joint or limb, that is, any part of the body.

Malaparte, 80/37, saucy, bold.

Male, 84/159, budget, bag, portmanteau.

Mameny ryall, 91, the name of a dish. See *Babees Book,* p. 53.

Mansuete, 102/236, gentle.

Marte, 8, a book fair.

Mase, 46/62 ? the maze = the greatest news, or wonder. See Halliwell, s. v. *mase.*

Masklewis, 99/158, mascles. A mascle is a lozenge voided, i. e. a hollow lozenge. See note, p. 104.

Medid, 106/56, rewarded.

Mellous, 66/12, to contrast with *meri,* as 'loth' with 'liberal' above it. Medlous, medelus, *Babees Book,* p. 9, 12; meddlesome, troublesome.

Membrit, 99/162, membered, having a different tint from that of the body;—said of the beak and

legs of a bird which is not a bird of prey.

Mene, 48/130, Men-eȝe, 48/125, } servants.

Merkis, 93/13; 95/54, signs or marks.

Merl, 95/45, martlet, a bird without feet or beak. A fourth son differences his arms with a martlet.

Mesaris, 102/234, ? spoilers, ? messers. ? missers (void of).

Mesures, 108/101, moderations.

Mewaris, 102/234, movers.

Militare, 2, military.

Mold, 100/172, earth, world.

Molet, 95/45, mullet, i. e. a spur-rowel. A third son differences his arms with a mullet.

Mordand, 98/129, mordant.

Morné, 98/133, said of a lion without teeth, claws, or tail.

Mosellis, 43/149, morsels.

Mownter in mantelt, 92, the name of an ancient dish. ? What.

Multiplication, 6. See note, p. 111.

Musyn, 106/45, Muse, pore over.

Mwyd, vp mwyd, 83/133, mewed up, confined.

Mys-chewe, 85/5, come to misfortune.

Myssey, 47/104, to revile, abuse *(mis-say)*.

Al-swa þai sal ilkan other wery,
And *myssay* and sclaundre God allemyghty.
Hampole, P. of C. 9424.

Nantyny, S. Anthony, 39/16.

Nemyl, 83/108, nimble, capable, *Halliwell* s. v. *nemel*.

Nessche, 64/241, soft.

Nomer, 98/133. See note, p. 103.

Nonbles, 90, numbles; the entrails of a deer.

Nones, 107/87, nonce; the present time, or time being.

Nyse, 69/33, foolish.

Nyte, 94/33, deny.

In battle ne in tournament
He *nytyde* us never with naye.
Halliwell.

Odour, 64/236, 96/69, either.

Oneste, 63/213, honesty.

Oneste, 70/72, honest.

Orped, 66/14, bold.

Ouer-sene, 49/164, overcome, drunk. 'Almost drunk, somewhat *ouerseene*.' Cotgr. quoted by Halliwell.

Pale, 62/200. 'By pales or by pale.' ? By palace or by fence; or, by palace or by pales, which often form the park fence.

Pales, 98/113. A pale is a broad, perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from the two edges and occupying one third of it.

Panis, Panys, 100/177, 181. Pann, cloth. See note, p. 100.

Pars, 107/81, parts, duties.

Passand, 98/128, passant; walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely.

Pastye, 58/83, pasty.

Paty, 99/137. A cross patée is a cross small at the centre and widening towards the extremes. See note, p. 104.

Paust, 32, ? motto.

Pawlles, 35, palls, cloths of gold.

Peces, 35, "armyd att all peces" = fully armed.

Pedigrues, 8, pedigrees.

Pellett, 99/153, 157. A roundel sable is termed a pellett. See note, p. 104.

Penselles, 30, 33, small banners.

Perbend, 98/116, same as bend.

Per cheveroune, 98/117. *See* Chevron, and note, p. 104.

Perfess, 98/116. *See* Fess.

Perl, 96/74, pearl.

Perpale, 98/114. *See* Pales.

Perpure, 96/66, purple.

Persewantis, 101/200, pursuivants.

Phistiloes, 5, fistulas.

Pictes, 100/165, ? pikes, *n.*, p. 104. The MS may be read *putes*; if so, Mr H. H. Gibbs would correct it to *puntes*, points; for a *point* is one kind of 'abatement' in arms, and a *Delph* is another.

Plateis, 98/109. Roundels argent are called plates.

Plicht, 99/158, placed.

Poletis, 98/110, pellets; roundels sable are called pellets.

Pomme, 98/111. A roundel vert is called a *pomme*.

Popelers, 91, a kind of bird. See *Prompt. Parv.*

Poudringes, 13, 17, bands of ermine, called also miniver. See notes, pp. 13, 28.

Pretens, 80/29, designing, pretending.

Principate, 3, principality.

Proper, 95/65, properly so called. See note, p. 96, and p. 103.

Proportis, 96/67, explains, purports.

Prow, 106/47.

Prow, 63/218, honour, advantage.

Prudence, 80/41, prudent.

Prys, 85/1, 105/4, estimation, value.

Pulter, 81/43, poulterer.

Pusancis, 93/5, puissances.

Quarterlie, 97/98, quarterly. See note 3, p. 97.

Queme, 67/16, pleasure.

Querellous, 67/16, querulous.

Querelour, 66/26, complaint, querulousness.

Queynt, 107/82, acquaint.

Queynte, 67/16, quaint, cunning, artful.

Quhyte, xiii, white

Quiche, 95/44, which. "Quiche a labelle" = who (bears) a label.

Rampand, 98/127, rampant; standing upright on his hind legs, as if attacking a person. Said of an animal.

Raschit, 94/26, 100/168, erased; torn off, leaving jagged and uneven edges.

Rawnesse, 2, ignorance, inexperience.

Reche, 42/100, ? reach, obtain.

Regalli, 66/27, for *regalty*, royalty, a kingdom; that over which one has the rule.

Regardand, 98/130, regardant; looking behind or backward.

Regle, 99/142. *Ragulée: a cross ragulée* is a cross with jagged edges.

Rehete, 62/198, punishment, or blame.

Reue, 85/4, reeve.

Revestre, 35, vestry.

Ring, 101/214, kingdom.

Roages, 7, rogues. See note, p. 111.

Rondis, 97/107, roundels. See note 5, p. 97.

Roo, 92, rue.

Rosey, 92, the name of a confection, composed chiefly of milk, dates, spices, &c.—*Halliwell.* Cp. 'un rosé, lait lardé et croutes de lait,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 95; 'un rosé de lapereaulx et d'oiselets, bourrées à la sausse chaude,' *ib.* p. 97, &c. (See the Index to *Le Mén.*)

Rownyng, 84/155, whispering.

Rysshewes, 92. See note 6, p. 92. In *Lib. Cure Coc.*, p. 39, we find *rissheus*.

Sable, 96/66, black. 'Sable, diamont of det,' p. 96/74.

Saliant, 98/128, salient, represented in a leaping position.

Salt-saler, 60/148, salt-cellar.

Sanctes, 33, saints.

Sarsile, 99/141 ? sarceled, i. e. cut through the middle. 'A *cross cercelée* is a cross which, opening at the end, turns round both ways, like a ram's horn.'—*Bailey*.

Sclake, 45/39, slake, cool.

Scrooging, xi, crowding, squeezing.

Seand, 98/129, sejant, or sitting; a term applied to a lion or other animal sitting like a cat.

Seely, 11, simple, humble.

Seir, 95/51, several.

Sekatoures, 85/9, executors.

Semaka, 90. See p. xvi and p. 90, *note* 9.

Semaka frye3, 90. See note 9, p. 90, also p. xvi.

Sens, 33, to cense.

Sewer, 17, 25, the officer of the house who set and removed dishes, tasted them, etc.

Sic, 97/96. Query, the same as *fess*. See note 1, p. 97, and note, p. 103.

Sight, 67/18, to sigh.

Signet, 92, cygnet.

Sigruns, 84/140, a wolf.

"Quod the vox: 'Wo is now there?
Iche wene hit is *Sigrim* that ich here.'
'That is soth, the wolf sede,
Ac wat art thou, so God the rede.'"
Vox and Wolf, ed. Hazlitt.

Singlare, 100/190, singular, uncommon; 'precyus singlare' = singularly precious.

Sirculey, 16. Qu. a coronet. 'Cercle in heraldry signifies within a circle, or *diadem*.'—*Bailey*.

Sittes, 106/46, it sits to you = it pertains to you.

Skynner, 107/78, a dealer in skins.

Sleyghty, 83/138, sly.

Slope, 24, 28, 36, 'a morning cassock for ladies or gentlemen, not open before,' p. 28.

Slyued, 25. 'The term (sliven) was often applied to dress. Carr has *sliving*, having the brim or edge turned down.'—*Halliwell*. Sliue, *disrumpere*.—Levins, 152.

Sogettis, 66/28, subjects.

Spado, 81/47, a castrated animal, an impotent person.

Speris, 94/16, sees, or inquires.

To other londys wylle y *spere*,
More of awnturs for to here.
Halliwell.

Spreynte, 80/30, sprinkled.

Spyre, 63/217, to inquire, ask.

Statant, 98/127. A lion *statant* is a lion standing in profile and looking before him.

State, yn a state, 89; in state, or in royal state.

Sted, 86/10, placed. 'I am sted ful heavily' = I am painfully placed or situated.

Sted, 100/170, stand, consist.

Sternis, 94/22, stars.

Stryte, 49/148. Courne be stryte = ? Corn be *strait*, where strait would mean *scarce*.

Styburne, 82/98, stubborn.

Sucylye, 99/142. See note, p. 104.

Surcourt, 16. A surcoat.

Sybbe, 44/22, a relative.

Ta, 61/171, to.

Tacches, 66/10, dispositions, habits. Beware of knaves' habits.

Talewise, 67/19, 109/8, wise in tales.

Tayllours, 107/73, tailors.

Tent, 95/45, take notice, or observe. *Observe*, the fourth is a martlet.

Tente, 58/66, take heed.

Tergat, 7.

The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.

þer-on, 58/62, therein.

Thofe, 61/169, though.

Thopasis, 96/73, topazes.

To, 64/250, 82/101, till.

To-gid, 97/101, together.

Tonne, 98/119, the one.

Tortell, 99/157, tortile, twisted, round. See note, p. 104.

Tortes, 98/110, 99/157, torteaux, roundels gules are termed torteaux.

Thour and Thorn, 20. See note 3, p. 20.

Throw, 106/45. Time.

Tovny, 96/77, tawny, orange colour.

Toyllous, 67/19, laborious.

Trapper, 26, trappings.

Trauerse, 17. ? A moveable screen. See note 4, p. 17.

Trayer, 27. ? dresser.

Valance, 30, 33.

Verraunce, 86/13, variance, variation.

Verray, 99/144. Enurné. See note, p. 104.

Vert, 96/66, one of the heraldic colours; green. 'Vert emeraut,' 96/76, = green, emerald.

Vmbe-set, 87/23, surrounded, overwhelmed.

Vmdois, 99/149. ? Um-do = do, or set round; support.

Vn-Abulle, 57/49, enable.

Vnkothe, 43/156, unknown.

Walet, 84/166, wallet.

Waryn, 83/109, warren.

Wate, 105/1, know.

Wer, 58/62, ware, careful, aware.

Were, 106/55, beware; let them beware.

Werely, 97/94. 'Werely weidis' = ? worldly garments.

Werly, 95/54, worldly.

Werr, 100/177. *Vair*, which is formed by a number of small bells, or shields, of one tincture, arranged in horizontal lines, in such a manner that those in the upper line are opposite to others, of another tincture, below.

Wesage, 81/65, visage.

Wnproper, 96/67, improper.

Women, satires on, 12.

Worth, 86/11, become, 'worth of' = happen to, befal, become of.

Wowed, 88/16, wooed.

Wreche, 42/104, wrath, anger. 'Wyne his wreche' = overcome his anger.

And covere me atte that dredful day
Til that thy *wreche* be y-passed away.—*Halliwell.*

Wyage 83/117, voyage, journey.

Wyndows, 98/111, wounds. See note 5, p. 98, and note, p. 104.

Wysage, 80/37, visage.

Yard, 89. A wand.

Ydell-schype, 47/113, idleness.

Ye, 105/7, eye.

Yift, 88/3, gift, bribery.

Yewythe, 80/27, giveth.

ȝerne, 52/7, yarn.

'For yarn that is evil spun
Evil it comes out at the last.'

INDEX OF NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

Abergavenny, Lady, 89
Adam, 93
Adams, Mr G. E., xxiv, 28, 37 *n.*, 93
Ahasuerus, iii
Albany, Duke of, xxi
Albany, Regent, 103
'Albert the Good,' 37 *n.*
Angus, Earl of, xxi
Anthony, S., 39
Arbaldus, xx
Arcite, 94
Aristotle, iii, 65
Arthur, xx
Arundel, Countess of, 89
Ashley, Mrs Catharine, viii
Athens, 93
Audley, Lord, 20
Aurelius, 12

Bacchus, 79
Bacon, Sir Nicholas, i
Berners, Juliana, 103, 104
Blackness Castle, 102
Bond, Mr, xvi
Bosswell, 102
Bradshaw, Mr H., xxiii
Bridewell, 111
Britain, 95
Brittany, 96
Brock, Mr E., xx, xxiv
Brutus, xx, 95, 103
Buchan, Earl of, xxi
Burgeveny, Lady, 89 (Abergavenny)
Burghley, Lord, ii *n.*
Butlet, Baron of Weme, 19

Cæsar, Julius, xx, 95
Cambridge, x, 10
Camden, viii *n.*
Canterbury, Abp of, 22, 89
Carthaginians, 11
Cathaia, viii
Catherine of Valois, 89
Cato, 11
Caxton, xvii
Chappell, Wm., 111
Charles I., King, 32
Charles II., 32
Chaucer, quoted on clerks, x, 3 *n.*
Cheeke, Sir John, 2, 111
Clarke's *Heraldry*, 28 *n.*
Clifford, Lady, 89
Clifford, Lord, 20
Collier, Mr J. Payne, i
Cornwell, Sir John, 90
Cosens, Mr F. W., i *n.*

Cowes, iv
Craven, 20
Cummyn, Sir W., xvii, xxi, 93, 102
Cussans, Mr, xvi
Cyprian, 80

Dartmouth, ii, iv
Davis, John, ii
De Lacy, 96, *n.* 1
Devon, Earl of, 90, *n.* 4
Douce, 30 *n.*
Drummond, Lord, xxi, 102
Dublin, Trin. Coll., xxiii
Dugdale, 29 *n.*
Durham, Bp. of, 23

Edward I., 20
Edward IV., 62 *n.*
Egremont, Lord, 19
Egyptians, 111
Elizabeth, Queen, i, iii, 1, 9, 12, 111
Ellis, Sir H., ii *n.*, xii, 111
Epaminondas, 3
Erewfilix, xx
Eton, viii
Eve, 93

Fairholt, 61 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Ferne, Sir John, 104
Ffythzhug, Lord, 89 (?Fitzwilliam)
Flushing, viii
Froude, Mr; his Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ii, vii
Fyvie, xxi

Gascoigne, the Poet, viii
Gathelus, 103
George III., 37 *n.*
George IV., 37 *n.*
George, St, 29 *n.*, 32, 35
Gilbert, Adrian, ii
Gilbert, Sir H., ii, iii, viii, ix, xi, xvi
Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, 62 *n.*
Greeks, 111
Greenaway, ii
Grey, Lord, 89
Grey, The Mayde, 89
Grey of Wilton, Lord, 20
Grostete, Bp., 56, 59
Gulf Stream, the, iii

Hakluyt, ii; quoted, iii, vii, *n.*
Halliwell, 13 *n.*, 29, 30 *n.*, 79
Harrison, xi
Hawkins, 111
Hay, Margaret, xxi
Hayes, Mr, quoted, iv, vi, vii
Hector, xx
Henry IV., 6, 111
Henry V., 89, 90
Henry VII., 29
Henry VIII., 24
Hester (Esther, the Book), iii
Heywood, 111
Hill, Lord, 37 *n.*
Homer, iii
Huntingdon, Countess of, 89
Hutton, General, xxi

Idle, Sir Peter, xxii
India, iii
Innerlochy, xxi
Inverallochy, xvii, xxi, 93

James IV., xxi
James V., xxii
Joachim, xx

Joseph, 93
Juno, 79

Kent, xxiii
Kent, Countess of, 89
Kent, Duchess of, 37 *n.*
Kent, Duke of, 37
Kersey's Phillips (a Dictionary), 13 *n.*, 111
Kinnoul, xxi
Kintyre, xix

Lacedemonians, 12
Lacy, De, 96, *n.* 1
Laing, Mr David, xvii, xxi
Lancaster, John of, 108
Latimer, Lord, 19
Leconfield, Lord, 28 *n.*
Legh, Gerard, 102, 103
Lemares, xx
Leslie, Bp, xxi
Levien, Mr Edward, xv
Lincoln, Earls of, 96, *n.* 1
Lincoln's Inn, 96, *n.* 1
London, 1, 10, 111
——— Bishop of, 22
Loutfut, Adam, xvii, 102, 103
Lumby, Mr, xiv
Lycurgus, 4, 10
Lydgate, xvi, 79
Lyndesay, Sir David, xiii, 102

Mackenzie, George, 103
Madden, Sir F., 29 *n.*
Madrid Library, the, i
Magellan's Straits, iii
March, Countess of, 89
March, Earl of, 89
Marcolf, 79
Mars, 107
Mawley, Lady, 89
Meldrum, Sir W., xxi
Morgan, Colonel, viii
Morgan, Sylvanus, 93, 103
Moses, 103
Moumbrey, Lady (Mowbray?) 89
Munster, viii
Murray, Mr J. A. H., xxii

Neve, Peter Le, 67
Neville, Lady Alice, 89
Neville, Sir Richard, 89
Neville, The Lady, 89
Newfoundland, viii
Newhaven, viii
Nisbet, 103
Northumberland, Countess of, 89
Nullatense, 83, 84

Occleve, xiv, 105
Oswald, Mr E., i, xxiv. (See Part II.)
Oxford, viii, x, 10
Oxford, Countess of, 89

Pace, ix
Palamone, 94
Palere, Doctor, xiv, 56
Parker, Mr Geo., xxii, xxiv
Paulet, Lord St John, 19
Pegge, xvi, 90, *n.* 4
Pharaoh, 103
Planche, J. R., 28 *n.*
Plato, 10
Platt, quoted, iii, vii

Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii
Ratclif, Lord Aegremont, 19
Richard II., 95 *n.*
Richardson, 95 *n.*
Ritson, xxiii
Rome, 11

Roos, Lady, 89
Rose, John, xi, 111
Rossetti, Mr W. M., i, xxiv. (See Part II.)
Russell's *Boke of Norture*, 17 *n.*

Salisbury Cathedral, 62 *n.*
Sandwich, ii
Scipio, 11
Scota, 103
Scots, the King of, 89
Seeley, Prof. J. R., xi
Seneca, 11, 82
Seton, Mr George, xxi
Shirley, 88
Skelton, ix
Somerset, Lady J., 89
Somerset, Lady M., 89
Spenser, 95 *n.*
Stafford, Countess of, 89
Stafford, Earl of, 89
St Alban's, Book of, quoted, 102-4
St John, Lord, 19
Strathallan, Viscount, xxi
Strype, 111
Stubs, xiii
Sydney, Sir Henry, vii

Talbot, Lady, 89
Thebes, 93, 94
Trogelius, xx
Troy, xx, 93, 94, 95

Upton, Nicholas, 102, 104

Warwickshire, 29 *n.*
Webster's Dictionary, 98 *n.*
Wellington, Duke of, 37 *n.*
Weme, Baron of, 19
Westminster, 20
Westmoreland, Countess of, 89
Wheatley, Mr, xii
Whitehall, 20
Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, 111
William IV., 37 *n.*
Willoughby, Lady, 89
Willoughby, Lord, 89
Wilton, Lord Grey of, 20
Winchester, Bp of, 23, 89
Wood, Mr W. M., xxiv
Wylson, Dr, 111

York, Abp of, 22
York, Duchess of, 89
York, Duke of, 37 *n.*

Zenobia, 12

GENERAL INDEX.

Abc, the, of Aristotle, 65, 66
Achademy, Queene Elizabethes, advantages of the, 10, 11, 12
Achademy, Queene Elizabethes, Notes to, 111
Alchemy, 6
Ambition, on, 72
Arithmetic, 4
Artillery, the practice of, 4
Assays, 13, 15
Astronomy, 5

Bandora, the, 7, 111
Bannerets, 18
Banners to be displayed, 29 *n.*
Banquet, courses at a, 92
Banquet, guests at a, 89
Barbers' shops, 6
Baron, a, 15, 17, 18
Baron, creation of, 19
Barons, 16, 17, 18
Baroness, a, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26
Baronet, a, 17
Bed, conduct on going to, 63
Blood Royal, 19
Book of St Alban's quoted, 102-4

Children, advice to, 56
Children, Plato on the education of, 9
Chivalry, 12
Cittern, the, 7, 111
Complaint, a, 86
Coronation Banquet, 89
Cosmography, 5
Countess, a, 15, 26
Courses of a meal, 92
Courtesy, children taught, 56
Covetousness, on, 72

Dancing, 7
Declamations at Universities, 2
Dinner, courses of, 90
Divinity, 6
Duchess, a, 13, 26
Duke, a, 13, 14, 27
Duke, the daughter of, 14
Dutch (German) language, 7

Earl, an, 13, 14, 15
Earl, an, and his family, 16, 27
Education, the kind of, proposed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 2
Embattling, 4
Encamping, 4
English, study of, in the *Achademy*, x, 9

Esquire, definition of an, 38
Estates, the order of all, 27

Fees to officers at arms, 37
Fencing, 7
Fools, Order of, 63, 79
Fool's Testament, the, 75
Fortifications, 4
French language, 7
Friends, false, 86
Funeral, a, in Popish times, 32
Funeral, the order of a, 24, 29
Funerals, mourners at, 24

Geometry, 4
Governor, advice to a, 72
Greek language, 2
Guitar, the, 111
Gunnery, 4

Harl. MS 6149 quoted, on the origin of arms, xix, xx
Hebrew language, 2
Heraldry, 8, 93. Notes on, 102-4
Honour, on, 72
House, how to rule one's, 71

Ills of our time (15th cent.), 85, 88
Italian language, 7

Knight, a, 18
Knight, wife of, 19

Ladies, 27
Languages to be taught, 2
Latin language, 2
Law, civil, 6
Law, common, 9
Lawyer, common, 6, 7
Library, the, of the *Achademy*, 8, 9
Liveries, 24, 26, 36
Logic, 2
Lords, a satire on, 77
Lords by writ, 19
Lute, the, 7, 111

Mapping, 5
Marchioness, a, 14, 15, 28
Marquis, a, 13, 15, 16, 27
Marquis, the daughters of, 16
Mathematicians, 4
Meals, conduct at, 58
Medicine, 5
Mensuration, 5
Mercy, on, 72
Military exercises, 5
Mining, 4
Mourners, 24, 36
Multiplication, statute of, 6, 111
Music, 7

Navigation, 5
Newfoundland, voyage to, iv
Noblemen, interment of, 34
Noblemen, liveries for, 24, 36
Noblemen, warnings for, 75, 77
Noblewomen, liveries for, 26
Numbers, favourite, with heraldic writers, 103

Orator, duties of the, 2

Parents, honour to, 61
Parliament, order of proceeding to, 20
Peace, Sir H. Gilbert on, 3
Perspective, 5
Philosophy, moral, 3
Philosophy, natural, 4
Physic, 5

Physician of the *Achademy*, to write annual report, 6
Pity, on, 72
Precedence, book of, 13
Precedence, order of, 20—24
Pride, 105
Printers, duties of, to the *Achademy*, 8
Prophecy, a, 85
Proverbs, 68

Readers, duties of, 9
Rhetoric, 2
Riding, 4, 5
Rogues, statute of, 7, 111
Rouge Dragon, Notes by, 28, 37

Satire, a, 77
School Clerks, not always the wisest men, 3
Schoolmaster, duties of, 2
Schoolmaster, stipend of, 2
Sermons in the Academy, 9
Servants, 25
Shipbuilding, 5
Skirmishing, 4, 5
Sleeves, laced, 62 and note; long trailing, 105, 106
Spanish language, 7
Supper, courses of, 90
Surgeons, few good, A.D. 1570, 6
Surgery, to be taught, 5, 6
Sword practice, 7

Testament, the Fool's, 75
Time, ills of our (15th cent.), 85, 88
Translations into English, 9

Ushers, 2

Vaulting, 7
Viscountesses, 17
Viscounts, 16, 17, 27

War, of, 3
Warnings for noblemen, 77
Washing, 13, 15, 16, 64
Weapons, use of, 5
Women, satires on, 12

PART II.

ACCOUNTS OF

Early Italian, German & French Books

on

Courtesy, Manners, and Cookery.

I. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.

II. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA AND ANOTHER GERMAN WORK ON COURTESY.

III. NOTE ON *LE MÉNAGIER DE PARIS*, 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA'S

Fifty Courtesies for the Table

(ITALIAN AND ENGLISH)

WITH OTHER

TRANSLATIONS AND ELUCIDATIONS

BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.

A

11★

TO THE ENGLISH PAINTER

WHO HAS MADE CIVILIZED MANKIND HIS DEBTOR

BY RECOVERING THE PORTRAIT OF

Dante BY Giotto,

THE TWO DII MAJORES OF ITALIAN MEDIÆVALISM,

TO THE

BARONE KIRKUP,

MY FATHER'S HONOURED FRIEND AND MY OWN,

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE

THIS SLIGHT ATTEMPT IN A BRANCH OF ITALIAN STUDY

LONG FAMILIAR TO HIMSELF.

W. M. R.

June 1869.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

ITALY AND COURTESY 7

BRUNETTO LATINI 8

THE TESORETTO :—EXTRACT 10

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA 14

THE ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA—ITALIAN AND ENGLISH 16

SUMMARY OF THE CORTEXIE 32

FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO 35

THE DOCUMENTI D'AMORE :—EXTRACT 38

THE REGGIMENTO E COSTUMI DELLE DONNE :—EXTRACT ... 45

SANDRO DI PIPPOZZO, GRAZIOLO DE' BOMBAGLIOLI, AND UGOLINO BRUCOLA 56

AGNOLO PANDOLFINI 57

THE GOVERNO DELLA FAMIGLIA :—EXTRACT 57

MATTEO PALMIERI 58

THE VITA CIVILE :—EXTRACT 58

BALDASSAR CASTIGLIONE 60

THE CORTIGIANO :—EXTRACT 61

GIOVANNI BATTISTA POSSEVINI 65

THE DIALOGO DELL' ONORE :—EXTRACT 66

MONSIGNOR GIOVANNI DELLA CASA 66

THE GALATEO :—EXTRACT 68

THE TRATTATO DEGLI UFFICI COMMUNI :—EXTRACT ... 74

In connection with the many samples of English and some French and Latin Courtesy-Books which the pains of other Editors have set before the members of the Early English Text Society, I have been asked to do something to exhibit what Italian literature has to show for itself in the same line. The request is one which I gladly close with; only cautioning the reader at starting that he must not expect to find in my brief essay any deep or exhaustive knowledge of the subject, or anything beyond specimens of the works under consideration, picked out one here and one there. Italy, it is tolerably well known, was, together with Provence, in the forefront of civilization —or 'civility,' as it might here be more aptly phrased—in the middle ages; and I should not be surprised to learn that, in the refinements of life and niceties of method, the Italy of the thirteenth century, as traceable in her Courtesy-Books, was quite on a par with the France or Germany[1] of the fourteenth, or the England of the fifteenth, and so progressively on. This, however, is a matter which I must leave to be determined by more diligent and more learned researches than my own. The materials for the comparison are now, to some extent, fairly before the editing and reading members of our Society.

As regards date, at all events, Italy is greatly in advance. What is the date of the earliest French Courtesy-Book included in our

[1] As mentioned below, the first German work including something by way of Courtesy-Book, ab. 1210 A.D., *Der Wälsche Gast*, was written by an Italian, Tomasin von Zirclaria.

series? Not far, I presume, from the close of the fourteenth century. What of the earliest English one? About 1450. Against these we can set an Italian Courtesy-Book—or rather a Courtesy section of an Italian book—dating about 1265. Of a date prior to this (the birth-year of Dante), there is little of either prose or poetry in Italian.

The author of our specimen is a man illustrious in the literature of Italy, though comparatively little read for some centuries past—Brunetto Latini; remembered chiefly among miscellaneous readers as the preceptor of Dante, and as consigned by that affectionate but unaccommodating pupil to a very ugly circle of his Hell. There, if we may believe the 'Poet of Rectitude,' Ser Brunetto, with a 'baked aspect,' is at this moment unremittingly walking under an unremitting rain of fire: were he to pause, he would remain moveless for a century, and the torture of the flames would persecute him in aggravated proportion. On the same authority (which it is futile to fence with), I am compelled to say that Brunetto is the last person from whom one need wish to learn the practice, or as a consequence the theory, of modern or European morals.

However, Brunetto seems to have considered that he had a gift that way. Both his leading works may be termed moral-scientific treatises. The longer of the two, the *Tesoro*, was written in French prose, and is much of a compilation from classic authors in some sections. It had hitherto only been preserved to the public in an old Italian translation, but quite recently the French text has been printed. Sacred, profane, and natural history, geography, oratory, politics, and morals, are the main subject-matter of this encyclopædic labour; than which probably no contemporary produced anything more widely learned, according to the standard of that age. The *Tesoretto* is a shorter performance, written in Italian verse; shorter, yet still of substantial length, numbering, even in its extant incomplete state, 22 sections or '*capitoli*.' This is the work upon which I shall draw for our first specimen of an Italian Courtesy-Book. Something bearing upon the like questions might also be gleaned from the *Tesoro*, but, as that is properly a French book, I leave it aside.

The *Tesoretto* sets forth that its author, being at Roncesvalles on

his return from an embassy in Spain, received the bad news of the battle of Montaperti. Getting astray in a forest,[1] he finds himself in the presence of no less a personage than Dame Nature, who proceeds to give him practical and theoretic demonstrations on all sorts of lofty subjects. She then tells him to explore the forest, where he would find Philosophy, the four Moral Virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice), Love, Fortune, and Over-reaching (Baratteria). He follows her instructions, searching out these personages from Philosophy on to Love: the four Virtues are attended by many ladies, among whom Brunetto specifies particularly Liberality, *Courtesy*, Good-faith, and Valour. After his interview with Love, he resolves to reconcile himself with God, and makes a full confession at Montpélier. Having received absolution, he does not return after Fortune and Over-reaching, but goes back to the forest, and thence reaches the summit of Mount Olympus. Here he sees Ptolemy, who is about to harangue him, when suddenly the *Tesoretto* comes to an end. Its best editor, the Abate Zannoni, supposes that the concluding portion of the poem was written, but has been lost to posterity.

A few words must be added as to the incidents of the author's life. He was born (probably) not much later than 1220 in the Florentine state, and died in 1294. After the great defeat of the Guelphs by the Ghibellines at Montaperti in 1260, Brunetto, with others of the Guelph party, which was almost uninterruptedly uppermost in Florence, found it expedient to emigrate from that capital. He went to Paris, and there wrote both the *Tesoro* and *Tesoretto*. Towards 1265 he was again re-established in his native country, exercising with great credit his profession of a notary, and also (by or before the year 1273) holding the post of secretary to the Commune of Florence. He became, as already mentioned, the preceptor of Dante. As the pupil has damned him to all time at any rate, if not in effect to all eternity, for one offence, let us at least preserve some memory of his countervailing merits, as set forth by Giovanni and Filippo Villani. The former affirms that Brunetto 'was the initiator and master in refining the Florentines, and cultivating their use of

[1] Possibly this notion prompted Dante to represent himself, in the opening of the *Commedia*, as also lost in a forest.

language; and in regulating the justice and rule of our Republic according to policy.' And, according to Filippo, 'Brunetto Latini was by profession a philosopher, by occupation a notary, and of great name and celebrity. He showed forth how much of rhetoric he could add to the gifts of nature: a man, if it be permitted to say so, worthy of being reckoned along with those skilled and ancient orators. He was facetious, learned, and acute, and abounded in certain pleasantries of speech; yet not without gravity, and the reserve of modesty, which bespoke a most cordial acceptance for his humour: of agreeable discourse, which often moved to laughter. He was obliging and decorous, and by nature serviceable, reserved, and grave; and most happy in the habit of all virtues, had he been wisely able to endure with a more steadfast mind the outrages of his infuriated country.'

The *Tesoretto* is of course a mine of curiosities of various kinds, tempting to the literary explorer. To call it distinctly a fine poem, or even the performance of a strictly poetic mind, might be the exaggeration of an enthusiast; but at all events it contains much sound matter well put, and by no means destitute of entertainment. The section that falls in best with our present purpose is the speech assigned to Lady Courtesy: I present it in its entirety.

'Be sure that Liberality is the head and greatness[1]
Of my mystery; so that I am little worth,
And, if she aids me not, I should find scant acceptance.
She is my foundation; and I am her gilding,
And colour, and varnish. But, to say the very truth,
If we have two names, we are well-nigh one thing.

But to thee, gentle friend, I say first
That in thy speech thou be circumspect.
Be not too great a talker, and think aforehand
What thou wouldst be saying; for never

[1] The line here translated as one forms two in the Italian, and the like with our sequel; Brunetto's metre being an ungracefully short one—thus:

'Sie certo che Larghezza
È'l capo e la grandezza,' &c.

Indeed the metre keeps up such a perpetual jingling as almost to reduce to doggerel what might, in a different rhythmical form, be accepted as very fair rhyme and reason indeed. I have thrown the several couplets into single lines, in the translation, simply with a view to saving space.

Doth the word that is spoken return,—like the arrow
Which goes and returns not. He who has a goodly tongue,
Little sense suffices him, if by folly he spoils it not.
Be thy speech gentle; and see it be not harsh
In any position of command, for thou canst not
Give people any graver annoy. I advise that he should die
Who displeases by harshness, for he never conquers the habit:
And he who has no moderation, if he acts well, he filches that.
Be not exasperating; neither be a tell-tale
Of what another person has spoken in thy presence;
Nor yet use contumely; nor tell any one a lie,
Nor slander of any,—for in sooth there is no one
Of whom one might not say something offensive offhand.
Neither be so self-sufficient as that even one hard word
Affecting another person should issue from thy mouth;
For too much self-sufficiency is contrary to good usage.
And let him who is on the highway beware of speaking folly.

But thou knowest that I command thee, and put it as a strict precept,
That thou honour to the utmost thy good friend
On foot and on horseback: and be sure that for a small fault
Thou bear no grudge—let not love fail on thy part.
And have it always in mind to associate with people of honour,
And from others hold aloof; so that (as with the crafts [1])
Thou mayst not acquire any vice, whereof, before thou couldst amend it,
Thou shalt have scathe and shame. Therefore at all hours
Hold fast to good usage; for that advances thee
In credit and honour, and makes thee better,
And gives fair seeming,—for a good nature
Becomes the clearer and more polished if it follows good habits.
But see none the less that, if thou shouldst appear tedious
To such or such a company, thou venture to frequent it no more,
But procure thyself some other to which thy ways are pleasing.
Friend, heed this well: with one richer than thyself
Seek not to associate,—for thou shalt be as their merry-maker,
Or else thou wilt spend as much as they; for, if thou didst not this,
Thou wouldst be mean,—and reflect always
That a costly beginning demands perseverance.
Therefore thou must provide, if thy means allow it,

[1] The original runs

'Che, siccome dell' arti,
Qualche vizio non prendi.'

This phrase is not quite clear to me; but I suppose the word '*arti*' is to be understood as meaning 'crafts, trades, or professions,' and that Brunetto had been sharp enough to see that people become 'shoppy' according to their respective shops. 'Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Josse.'

That thou do this openly. If not, then mind
Not to make such expenditure as shall afterwards be reproved;
But adopt such a system as to be consistent with thyself.
And, if thou art a little better off [than thy comrades], do not get away,
But spend on the same scale; take no advantage:—
And at all times take heed, if there is in thy company
A man, in thine opinion, of inferior means,
That, for God's sake, thou force him not into more than he can meet;
For, if, for thy convenience, he spends his money amiss,
And comes to poverty, thou wilt be blamed therefor.

And in sooth there are persons of high condition
Who call themselves "noble": all others they hold cheap
Because of this nobility. And, in that conceit,
They will call a man "tradesman"[1] who would sooner spend a bushel
Of florins than *they* of halfpence,[2]—
Although the means of both might be of like amount.
And he who holds himself noble, without doing any other good
Save of the name, fancies he is making the cross to himself,
But he *does* make the fig to himself.[3] He who endures not toil
For honour's sake, let him not imagine that he comes
Among men of worth, because he is of lofty race;
For I hold him noble who shows that he follows the path
Of great valour and of gentle nurture,—
So that, besides his lineage, he does deeds of worth,
And lives honourably so as to make himself beloved.
I admit indeed that, if the one and other are equal in good deeds,

[1] '*Mercennaio*'—literally, mercenary or hireling.

[2] '*Picciolini*.' These were, I gather, coins of a particular denomination, but I have not been able to ascertain their precise value.

[3] 'Credesi far la croce,
Ma e' si fa la fica.'

I have translated literally; but that of course makes something very like nonsense in English. To 'make the fig' is a gesture of the thumb and fingers, understood as gross and insulting in the highest degree. The general sense of the passage is therefore—'He fancies he is thus testifying in his own honour, whereas it really does redound to his own extreme shame.' Readers of Dante, remembering the splendid canzone

'Le dolci rime d'amor ch' io solia,'

in which he refutes the false and defines the true bases of 'nobility' (*gentilezza*), will perceive that the illustrious pupil had been to a great extent anticipated by the teaching of his early instructor. Francesco da Barberino (*Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*) adopts a middle course, discriminating '*gentilezza*' thus: 'Nobility is twoform in quality and in origin. The first is a state of the human soul contented in virtue, hostile to vice, exulting in the good of others, and pitiful in their adversity. The second is mastery over men or riches, derived from of old, sensitive to shame when brought low.'

He who is the better born is esteemed the higher:
Not through any teaching of mine, but it seems to be the usage,
Which conquers and overthrows many of my ways,
So that I can no otherwise; for this world is so dense
That the right is even judged of according to a little talking,
For the great and the lesser live therein by rumour.

Therefore be heedful to keep among them so silent
That they may have nothing to laugh at. Adopt their modes,
For I rather advise thee to follow their wrongfulness.[1]
For, though thou shouldst be in the right, yet, as soon as it pleases not them,
It avails thee nothing to speak well, nor yet ill.
Therefore recount no tale, unless it appears good and fair
To all who hear it; for somebody will censure thee for it,
And add lies thereto when thou art gone,
Which must assuredly grieve thee. So thou must know,
In such company, to play the prudent part,
And be heedful to say what will please.
And as for the good, if thou knowest it, thou wilt tell it to others
Where thou art known and held dear;
For thou wilt find among people many fools
Who take greater pleasure in hearing something scurrilous
Than what is profitable. Pass on, and heed not,
And be circumspect.
If a man of great repute
Should at any time do something that is out of bounds
In street or church, follow not the example:
For he has no excuse who conforms to the wrong-doing of others.
And see that thou err not if thou art staying or going
With a lady or lord, or other superior,—
Also that, although he be but thine equal, thou observe to honour him,
Each according to his condition. Be so heedful of this,
Both of less and more, that thou lose not self-restraint.
To thine inferior, however, render not more honour
Than beseems him, nor such that he should hold thee cheap for it:
And so, if he is the inferior, always walk a step in advance.
And, if thou art on horseback, avoid every fault;
And, if thou goest through the city, I counsel thee to go
Very courteously. Ride decorously,
With head a little bowed, for to go in that loose-reined way

[1] Here, on the contrary, we come to a precept the reverse of Dantesque. Yet, on combining this passage with that which opens the ensuing paragraph, it would seem that Brunetto does not mean to recommend connivance with anything that is positively evil, but only with current habits and fashions, objectionable though they may be, in matters essentially indifferent—as of speech and deportment.

Looks most boorish; and stare not up at the height
Of every house thou comest to. Mind that thou move not about
Like a man from the country—wriggle not like an eel:
But go steadily along the road and among the people.

When thou art asked for a loan, delay not.
If thou art willing to lend, make not the man linger so long
That the favour shall be lost before it is rendered.

And, when thou art in company, always follow
Their modes and their liking; for thou must not want
To be just suiting thine own taste, nor to be at odds with them.

And always be heedful that thou give not any gross glances
At any woman living, in house or street;
For he who does thus, and calls himself a lover,
Is esteemed a blackguard.[1] And I have seen before now
A man lose position by a single act of levity;[2]
For in this country such goings-on are not admired.
And take heed in every case that Love, with his arts,
Inflame not thy heart. With severest pain
Wouldst thou consume thy life; nor couldst thou be numbered
In my following, wert thou in his power.[3]

Now return in-doors, for it is the time;
And be liberal and courteous, so that in every country
All thy belongings be deemed pleasurable.'

We now pass from Florence to Lombardy—from Ser Brunetto Latini to Fra Bonvicino da Riva—from the lawyer and official to the friar and professor. The poem of Fra Bonvicino, *The Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, will be our principal *pièce de résistance*, and presented accordingly in its own garnishing of old Italian as well as in English. Not that it is by any means the best or most important piece of work that we have to bring forward; but its rarity, its dialectic interest for students of old Italian, and its precision and detail with regard to one of the essentials of courtesy—the art of dining—

[1] '*Briccon*'—the colloquial term still in daily use among Italians.

[2] '*Solo d'una canzone:*' literally, 'merely for one song.' The Abate Zannoni understands this to mean '*per aver una sola volta canzonato femmina.*' He admits that this sense of the phrase is not discoverable in that fetish of the Italian pedant, the Dizionario della Crusca; but as I have no superior authority to oppose to that of Abate Zannoni, I have followed his interpretation.

[3] This seems strange doctrine—that love of courtesy and love of women cannot co-exist in the same man—if we are to accept it in its amplest sense. Perhaps, however, we are to understand that the speaker is still confining his censures to miscellaneous and unsanctioned amours or flirtations, especially with married women.

give it exceptional value for our direct purpose. The poem is supposed to have been written about 1290.

Unpolished as he is in poetic development, Fra Bonvicino is not to be altogether slighted from a literary point of view. Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*) believes that Bonvicino and one other were the two sole verse-writers of the Lombard or Milanese State in this opening period of Italian poesy; and Signor Biondelli, whom we have to thank for the publication of Bonvicino's production after so many centuries of its hybernation in MS, can point to the choiceness of the old Friar's vocabulary. In one couplet that well-qualified editor is able to find five expressions 'which, for propriety and purity, would even at the present day beseem the most careful of writers;' and hence he pronounces Bonvicino 'the elegant writer of his time.' It should be understood, however, that the MS reproduced by Signor Biondelli, and now again in the present volume, gives but an inadequate idea of the primitiveness of Bonvicino's own actual idiom. Tiraboschi cites a harsher version of the first stanza from an earlier MS then existing in the Library of Santa Maria Incoronata in Milan, but which is now undiscoverable: the MS used by Signor Biondelli is of a much later date, the fifteenth century. It pertains to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Bonvicino belonged to the third order of the Friars named Umiliati, and lived (as he himself informs us) in Legnano, a town of the Milanese district. Hence he went to Milan, and became a distinguished professor of grammar in the Palatine schools. The only other poem of his published in Signor Biondelli's volume[1] is *On the dignity of the Glorious Virgin Mary:* but Tiraboschi specifies other productions in verse—Dialogues in praise of Almsgiving, between the Virgin and Satan, between the Virgin and the Sinner, between the Creator and the Soul, between the Soul and the Body, between the Violet and the Rose, between the Fly and the Ant; also the Legends of Job and of St Alexius; and various works in Latin, of which some have been published.

[1] Poesie Lombarde Inedite del Secolo 13, publicate ed illustrate da B. Biondelli. Milano: Bernardoni. 1856. We are indebted to Signor Biondelli's courtesy for a copy of this curious and interesting work.

DE LE

ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA

DE FRA BONVEXINO DA RIVA

Fra bon Vexino da Riva, che stete in borgo Legniano
De le cortexie da descho ne dixe primano;
De le cortexie cinquanta che se den servare a descho
Fra bon Vexino da Riva ne parla mo' de frescho.

La primiera è questa: che quando tu è a mensa,
Del povero bexognoxo imprimamente inpensa;
Che quando tu pasci lo povero, tu pasci lo tó Segnore,
Che te passerà, poxe la toa morte, in lo eternal dolzore.

La cortexia segonda: se tu sporze aqua alle man,
Adornamente la sporze; guarda no sia vilan;
Asay ghe ne sporze, no tropo, quando el è tempo d'estae;
D' inverno per lo fregio in pizina quantitae.

La terza cortexia si è: no sì tropo presto
De corre senza parola per asetare al descho;
Se alchun te invida a noxe, anze che tu sie asetato,
Per ti no prende quello axio, d'onde tu fuzi deschazato.

[1] Bonvexino (pronounced Bonv*e*sino) is, in modern Italian, Bonvicino—i. e. good neighbour.

[2] 'Afresh' represents the Italian 'de frescho.' Signor Biondelli considers that the phrase means 'afresh,' indicating that Fra Bonvesino had written his Courtesies in Latin before turning them into Italian. Signor Biondelli, however, admits that 'de frescho' may also mean 'now recently,' 'just now';

THE

FIFTY COURTESIES FOR THE TABLE,

OF FRA BONVESINO[1] DA RIVA.

Fra Bonvesino da Riva, who lived in the town of Legnano,
First treated of the Courtesies for the Table.
Of the Fifty Courtesies which should be observed at the board
Fra Bonvesino da Riva now speaks afresh.[2] 4

The first is this: that, when thou art at table,
Thou think first of the poor and needy;
For, when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Lord,
Who will feed thee, after thy death, in the eternal bliss. 8

The second Courtesy. If thou offerest water for the hands,
Offer it neatly: see thou be not rude.
Offer enough water, not too much, when it is summer-time:
In winter, for the cold, in small quantity. 12

The third Courtesy is—Be not too quick
To run without a word to sit down at the board.
If any one invites thee to a wedding,[3] before thou art seated,
Take not for thyself a place from which thou wouldst be turned out.

and, but for his contrary preference, I should attribute that meaning to the word in the present instance.

[3] 'Noxe.' I *suppose* this must represent the modern-Italian word 'nozze,' nuptials, though the incident of a wedding seems rather suddenly introduced at this point, and does not re-appear afterwards.

L' oltra è : Anze che tu prendi lo cibo aparegiao
Per ti, over per tò mayore, fa sì ch' el sie segniao.
Tropo è gordo e vilan, e incontra Cristo malegna
Lo quale alli oltri guarda, ni lo sò condugio no segna.

La cortexia zinquena : sta aconzamente al descho,
Cortexe, adorno, alegro, e confortoxo e frescho ;
No di' sta convitoroxo, ni gramo, ni travachao ;
Ni con le gambe in croxe, ni torto, ni apodiao.

La cortexia sexena : da poy che l' omo se fiada,
Sia cortexe no apodiasse sovra la mensa bandia ;
Chi fa dra mensa podio, quello homo non è cortexe,
Quando el gh'apodia le gambe, over ghe ten le braze destexe.

La cortexia setena si è : in tuta zente
No tropo mangiare, ni pocho ; ma temperadamente ;
Quello homo en ch' el se sia, che mangia tropo, ni pocho,
No vego quentro pro ghe sia al'anima, ni al corpo.

La cortexia ogena si è : che Deo n' acrescha,
No tropo imple la bocha, ni tropo mangia inpressa ;
Lo gordo che mangia inpressa, e che mangia a bocha piena,
Quando el fisse apellavo, no ve responde apena.

La cortexia novena si è : a pocho parlare,
Et a tenire pox quello che l' à tolegio a fare ;
Che l' omo tan fin ch' el mangia, s' el usa tropo a dire,
Le ferguie fora dra bocha sovenzo pon insire.

La cortexia dexena si è : quando tu è sede,
Travonde inanze lo cibo, e furbe la bocha, e beve.
Lo gordo che beve inpressa, inanze ch' el voja la chana ;
Al' oltro fa fastidio che beve sego in compagnia.

[1] Signor Biondelli understands this stanza in a somewhat different sense, as applying to the *assigning* of dishes, not the *signing* of the cross as a grace be-

The next is—Before thou takest the food prepared,
See that it be signed [with the cross] by thyself or thy better.
Too greedy and churlish is he, and he offends against Christ,
Who looks about at others, and signs not his dish.[1]

The fifth Courtesy. Sit properly at the board,
Courteous, well-dressed, cheerful, and obliging and fresh.
Thou must not sit anxious, nor dismal, nor lolling,
Nor with thy legs crossed, nor awry, nor leaning forward.

The sixth Courtesy. When people are at a pause,
Be careful not to lean forward on the laid-out table.
He who uses the table as a prop, that man is not courteous,
When he tilts his legs upon it, or stretches out his arms along it.

The seventh Courtesy is—For all people
Not to eat too much nor little, but temperately.
That man, whoever he may be, who eats too much or little,
I see not what good it can be to his soul or his body.

The eighth Courtesy is—So may God favour us,
Fill not thy mouth too much, nor eat in too great a hurry.
The glutton who eats in a hurry, and who eats with his mouth stuffed,
If he were addressed, he scarcely answers you.

The ninth Courtesy is—To speak little,
And stick to that which one has set-to at doing;
For a man, as long as he is eating, if he has the habit of talking too much,
Scraps may often spurt out of his mouth.

The tenth Courtesy is—When thou art thirsty,
First swallow down thy food, and wipe thy mouth, and drink.
The glutton who drinks in a hurry, before he has emptied his gullet,
Makes himself disagreeable to the other who is drinking in his company.

fore meat. The reference to Christ seems to me to create a strong presumption in favour of my interpretation.

E la undexena è questa: no sporze la copa al' oltro,
Quando el ghe pò atenze, s' el no te fesse acorto;
Zaschuno homo prenda la copa quando ghe plaxe;
E quando el l' à beudo, l' à de mete zoxo in paxe.

La dodexena è questa: quando tu di' prende la copa,
Con dove mane la rezevè, e ben te furbe la bocha;
Con l'una conzamente no se pò la ben receve;
Azò ch' el vino no se spanda, con doe mane di' beve.

La tredexena è questa: se ben tu no voy beve,
S' alchun te sporze la copa, sempre la di' rezeve;
Quando tu l'à receuda, ben tosto la pò mete via;
Over sporze a un' altro ch' è tego in compagnia.

L' oltra che segue è questa: quando tu è alli convivi,
Onde si à bon vin in descho, guarda che tu no t' invrie;
Che se invria matamente, in tre maynere offende;
El noxe al corpo e al' anima, e perde lo vin ch' el spende.

La quindexena è questa: seben verun ariva,
No leva in pè dal descho, se grande cason no ghe sia;
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, non di' moverse inlora,
Per amore de fare careze a quilli che te veraveno sovra.

La sedexena apresso con veritae:
No sorbilar dra bocha quando tu mangi con cugial;
Quello fa sicom bestia, chi con cugial sorbilia;
Chi doncha à questa usanza, ben fa s' el se dispolia.

La desetena apresso si è: quando tu stranude,
Over ch' el te prende la tosse, guarda con tu làvori
In oltra parte te volze, ed è cortexia inpensa,
Azò che dra sariva no zesse sor la mensa.

[1] It is clear from the general context that the victuals here spoken of as to be eaten with a spoon are solid edibles—not merely soups or the like: the spoon corresponding to the modern fork. The word translated 'suck' is 'sor-

And the eleventh is this: Do not offer the cup to another
When he can himself reach it, unless he asks thee for it.
Let every man take the cup when he pleases;
And, when he has drunk, he should set it down quietly. 48

The twelfth is this: When thou hast to take the cup,
Hold it with both hands, and wipe thy mouth well.
With one [hand] it cannot well be held properly:
In order that the wine be not spilled, thou must drink using both hands. 52

The thirteenth is this: If even thou dost not want to drink,
If anybody offers thee the cup, thou must always accept it.
When thou hast accepted it, thou mayst very soon set it down,
Or else offer it to another who is in company with thee. 56

The next that follows is this: When thou art at entertainments
Where there is good wine on the board, see that thou get not drunk.
He who gets mad-drunk offends in three ways:
He harms his body and his soul, and loses the wine which he consumes. 60

The fifteenth is this: If any one arrives,
Rise not up from the board unless there be great reason therefor.
As long as thou eatest at the board, thou shouldst not then move
For the sake of making much of those who may come in to thee. 64

The sixteenth next in good sooth.
Suck not with the mouth when thou eatest with a spoon.[1]
He acts like a beast who sucks with a spoon:
Therefore whoever has this habit does well in ridding himself of it.

The seventeenth afterwards is this: When thou dost sneeze,
Or if a cough seizes thee, mind thy lips:
Turn aside, and reflect that that is courtesy,
So that no saliva may get on the table. 72

bilar:' perhaps 'mumble' would convey the force of the precept more fully though less literally.

La desogena è questa: quando l' omo sente ben sano,
No faza onde el se sia del companadego pan;
Quello ch' è lechardo de carne, over d'ove, over de formagio,
Anche n' abielo d'avanzo, perzò no de 'l fa stragio.

La dexnovena è questa: no blasma li condugi
Quando tu è alli convivi; ma dì, che l'in bon tugi.
In questa rea usanza multi homini ò za trovao,
Digando: *questo è mal cogio, o questo è mal salao.*

E la XX.ª è questa: ale toe menestre atende;
Entre altru' no guarda, se no forse per imprende
Lo menistrante, s' el ghe manca ben de guardà per tuto;
Mal s' el no menestresse clave e se lovo è bruto.

La XXI.ª è questa: no mastrulare per tuto
Como avesse carne, over ove, over semiante condugio;
Chi volze, over chi mastrulia sur lo taliere zerchando,
È bruto, e fa fastidio al compagnon mangiando.

La XXII.ª è questa: no te reze vilanamente;
Se tu mangi con verun d'uno pan comunamente,
Talia lo pan per ordine, no va taliando per tuto;
No va taliando da le parte, se tu no voy essere bruto.

La XXIII.ª: no di' metere pan in vino,
Se tego d'un napo medesmo bevesse Fra Bon Vexino;
Chi vole peschare entro vin, bevando d'un napo conmego,
Per meo grao, se eyo poesse, no bevereve consego.

La XXIIII.ª è: no mete in parte per mezo lo compagnon
Ni grelin, ni squela, se no ghe fosse gran raxon;
Over grelin, over squela se tu voy mete inparte,
Per mezo ti lo di' mete pur da la toa parte.

[1] I feel some doubt as to the meaning of this passage.
[2] This appears to be the general sense of the last two lines. In the final one Signor Biondelli gives up two words as unintelligible: he infers that they must be miscopied.

The eighteenth is this: When a man feels himself quite comfortable,
Let him not leave bread over after the victuals.[1]
He who has a taste for meat, or for eggs, or for cheese,
Even though he should have a residue, he should not on that account waste it.

The nineteenth is this: Blame not the dishes
When thou art at entertainments, but say that they are all good.
I have detected many men erewhile in this vile habit,
Saying 'This is ill cooked,' or 'this is ill salted.'

And the twentieth is this: Attend to thine own sops;
Peer not into those of others, unless perchance to apprize
The attendant if anything is wanting. He must look well all round:
Things would go much amiss if he were not to attend.[2]

The twenty-first is this: Do not poke about everywhere,
When thou hast meat, or eggs, or some such dish.
He who turns and pokes about on the platter, searching,[3]
Is unpleasant, and annoys his companion at dinner.

The twenty-second is this: Do not behave rudely.
If thou art eating from one loaf in common with any one,
Cut the loaf as it comes, do not go cutting all about;
Do not go cutting one part and then another, if thou wouldst not be uncouth.

The twenty-third. Thou must not dip bread into wine
If Fra Bonvesino has to drink out of the same bowl with thee.
He who *will* fish in the wine, drinking in one bowl with me,
I for my own liking, if so I could, would not drink with him.

The twenty-fourth is—Set not down right before thy companion
Either pan or pot, unless there be great reason therefor.
If thou wantest to introduce either pan or pot,
Thou must set it down at thine own side, before thyself.

[3] This seems to contemplate the plan of the several guests helping themselves off the dish brought to table. At any rate, so Signor Biondelli understands it.

La XXV.ª è: chi fosse con femene sovra un talier mangiando,
La carne a se e a lor ghe debia esser taliata;
Lo homo de' plu esse intento, plu presto e honoreure,
Che no de' per raxon la femena agonzente. 104

La XXVI.ª è questa: de grande bontà inpensa,
Quando lo tò bon amigo mangia alla toa mensa;
Se tu talie carne, over pesso, over oltre bone pitanze,
De la plu bella parte ghe debie cerne inanze. 108

La XXVII.ª è questa: no di' tropo agrezare
L'amigo a caxa tova de beve, ni de mangiare;
Ben di' tu receve l'amigo e farghe bella cera,
E darghe ben da spende e consolare voluntera. 112

La XXVIII.ª è questa: apresso grande homo mangiando,
Astalete de mangiare tan fin che l' è bevando;
Mangiando apresso d'un vescho, tan fin ch' el beve dra copa,
Usanza drita prende; no mastegare dra bocha. 116

La XXVIIII.ª è questa: se grande homo è da provo.
No di' beve sego a una hora, anze ghe di' dà logo;
Chi fosse a provo d'un vescho, tan fin ch' el beverave,
No di' levà lo sò napo, over ch' el vargarave. 120

E la trentena è questa: che serve, abia neteza;
No faza in lo prexente ni spuda, ni bruteza;
Al' homo tan fin ch' el mangia, plu tosto fa fastidio;
No pò tropo esse neto chi serve a uno convivio. 124

Pox la XXX.ª è questa: zaschun cortese donzello
Che se vore mondà lo naxo, con li drapi se faza bello;
Chi mangia, over chi menestra, no de' sofià con le die;
Con li drapi da pey se monda vostra cortexia. 128

[1] 'Donzello.' This precept seems to be especially addressed to the servitors. Uguccione Pisano, quoted by Muratori, says: 'Donnicelli et Domicellæ dicuntur quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes.' Such Donzelli

The twenty-fifth is—One who may be eating from a platter with women,
The meat has to be carved for himself and for them.
The man must be more attentive, more prompt in honouring,
Than the woman, in reason, has to reciprocate.

The twenty-sixth is this: Count it as a great kindness
When thy good friend eats at thy table.
If thou carvest meat, or fish, or other good viands,
Thou must choose of the best part for him.

The twenty-seventh is this: Thou must not overmuch press
Thy friend in thy house to drink or to eat.
Thou must receive thy friend well, and make him welcome,
And heartily give him plenty to eat and enjoy himself with.

The twenty-eighth is this: Dining with a great man,
Abstain from eating so long as he is drinking.
Dining with a Bishop, so long as he is drinking from the cup,
Right usage requires thou shouldst not be chewing with the mouth.

The twenty-ninth is this: If a great man is beside thee,
Thou must not drink at the same time with him, but give him precedence.
Who may be beside a Bishop, so long as he is drinking
Or pouring out, must not raise his bowl.

And the thirtieth is this: He who serves, let him be cleanly.
Let him not make in presence [of the guests] any spitting or nastiness:
To a man as long as he is eating, this is all the more offensive.
He who serves at an entertainment cannot be too nice.

Next after the thirtieth is this: Every courteous donzel[1]
Who wants to wipe his nose, let him embellish himself with a cloth.
He who eats, or who is serving, must not blow through the fingers:
Be so obliging as to clean yourselves with the foot-cloths.[2]

were not allowed to sit at table with the knights; or, if allowed, had to sit apart on a lower seat.

[2] 'Drapi da pey.' I confess to some uncertainty as to what sort of thing

L' oltra che ven è questa; le toe man siano nete;
Ni le die entro le oregie, ni le man sul cho di' mete;
No de' l'omo che mangia habere nudritura,
A berdugare con le die in parte, onde sia sozura.

La terza poxe la XXX.*: no brancorar con le man,
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can;
No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
Con le man, con le que al tocha li condugi.

L' oltra è: tan fin tu mangi con homini cognosenti,
No mete le die in bocha per descolzare li dingi.
Chi caza le die in bocha, anze che l'abia mangiao,
Sur lo talier conmego no mangia per mè grao.

La quinta poxe la trenta: tu no di' lenze le die;
Le die chi le caza in bocha brutamente furbe;
Quello homo che se caza in bocha le die inpastruliate,
Le die no én plu nete, anze son plu brute.

La sesta cortexia poxe la trenta:
S' el te fa mestere parlà, no parla a bocha plena;
Chi parla, e chi responde, se l' à plena la bocha,
Apena ch' el possa laniare negota.

Poxe questa ven quest' oltra: tan fin ch' el compagno
Avrà lo napo alla bocha, no ghe fa domando,
Se ben tu lo vo' apelare; de zò te fazo avezudo;
No l'impagià, daghe logo tan fin che l'avrà beudo.

these 'foot-cloths' may have been. Signor Biondelli terms them 'the cloths wherewith the feet were wrapped round and dried.' He adds: 'This precept apprizes us that at that time the use of a pocket-handkerchief was not yet introduced, and perhaps not even the use of stockings.' One would fain hope that the summit of Lombardic good breeding in 1290 was not the wiping of noses on cloths actually and at the moment serving for the feet. Possibly *drapi da pey* is here a generic term; cloths or napkins at hand for use, and which *might have* served for foot-cloths. Thus the word 'duster' might be employed in a similar connection, without our being compelled to suppose that the individual duster had first been used on the spot for dusting the tables or

The next that comes is this: Let thy hands be clean.
Thou must not put either thy fingers into thine ears, or thy hands on thy head.
The man who is eating must not be cleaning
By scraping with his fingers at any foul part.

The third after the thirtieth. Stroke not with hands,
As long as thou eatest at the board, cat or dog.
A courteous man is not warranted in stroking brutes
With the hands with which he touches the dishes.

The next is—As long as thou art eating with men of breeding,
Put not thy fingers into thy mouth to pick thy teeth.
He who sticks his fingers in his mouth, before he has done eating,
Eats not, with my good-will, on the platter with me.

The fifth after the thirtieth. Thou must not lick thy fingers.
He who thrusts his fingers into his mouth cleans them nastily.
That man who thrusts into his mouth his besmeared fingers,
His fingers are none the cleaner, but rather the nastier.

The sixth Courtesy after the thirtieth.
If thou hast occasion to speak, speak not with thy mouth full.
He who speaks, and he who answers, if he has his mouth full,
Scarcely can he chop out a word.

After this comes this other: As long as thy companion
Has the bowl to his mouth, ask him no questions
If thou wouldst address him: of this I give thee notice.
Disturb him not: pause until he has drunk.

floors, and then for wiping the nose. Or indeed, we moderns, who wipe our noses on *hand*-kerchiefs, do not first use said kerchiefs for wiping our *hands*, nor yet for *covering our heads* ('*couvre chef*').—Reverting to Signor Biondelli's observation as to 'the use of stockings,' I may observe that Francesco da Barberino, in a passage of his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, speaks of 'the beautiful foot shod in silk'—'*calzato in seta*'—which *may* imply either a stocking or else a shoe. This poem, as we shall see further on, is but little later than Bonvicino's.—The reader may also observe, at p. 68, the horror with which a much later writer, Della Casa, contemplated the use of a dinner-napkin as a pocket-handkerchief.

La XXXVIII.ª è questa: no recuntare ree novelle,
Azò che quilli ch' în tego, no mangiano con recore;
Tan fin che li oltri mangiano, no dì nove angosoxe;
Ma taxe, over dì parole che siano confortoxe.

L' oltra che segue è questa: se tu mangi con persone,
No fa remore, ni tapie, se ben gh' avise raxone;
S' alchun de li toy vargasse, passa oltra fin a tempo,
Azò che quilli ch' în tego, no abiano turbamento.

L' oltra è: se dolia te prende de qualche infirmitade,
Al più tu poy conprime la toa necesitade;
Se mal te senti al descho, no demostrà la pena;
Che tu no fazi recore a quilli che mangiano tego insema.

Pox quella ven quest' oltra: se entro mangial vegisse
Qualche sghivosa cossa, ai oltri no desisse;
Over moscha, over qual sozura entro mangial vezando,
Taxe, ch'eli no abiano sghivo al descho mangiando.

L' oltra è: se tu porte squelle al descho per servire,
Sur la riva dra squella le porexe di' tenire:
Se tu apili le squelle cor porexe sur la riva,
Tu le poy mete zoxo in sò logo senza oltro che t' ayda.

La terza poxe la quaranta è: se tu sporzi la copa,
La sumità del napo col polexe may no tocha;
Apilia lo napo de soto, e sporze con una man;
Chi ten per altra via, pò fi digio, che sia vilan.

La quarta poxe la quaranta si è: chi vol odire:
Ni grelin, ni squelle, ni 'l napo no di' trop' inplire;
Mesura e modo de' esse in tute le cosse che sia;
Chi oltra zò vargasse, no ave fà cortexia.

The thirty-eighth is this: Tell no bad news,
In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirits.
As long as the others are eating, give no painful news;
But keep silence, or else speak in cheerful terms.

The next that follows is this: If thou art eating with others,
Make no uproar or disturbance, even though thou shouldst have reason therefor.
If any of thy companions should transgress, pass it by till the time comes,
So that those who are with thee may not be put out.

The next is—If the pain of any ill-health seizes thee,
Keep down thy distress as much as thou canst.
If thou feelest ill at the board, show not the pain,
That thou mayst not cause discomfort to those who are eating along with thee.

After that comes this other: Shouldst thou see in the viands
Any disagreeable thing, tell it not to the others.
Seeing in the viands either a fly or any uncleanliness,
Keep silence, that they may not feel disgust, eating at the board.

The next is—If thou bringest dishes to the board in serving,
Thou must keep thy thumbs on the rim of the dish.
If thou takest hold with the thumb on the rim of the dishes,
Thou canst set them down in their place without any one else to help thee.

The third after the fortieth is—If thou offerest the cup,
Never touch with the thumb the upper edge of the bowl.
Hold the bowl at the under end, and present it with one hand:
He who holds it otherwise may be called boorish.

The fourth after the fortieth is—hear who will—
Neither frying-pan nor dishes nor bowl should be overfilled.
Measure and moderation should be in all things that are:
He who should transcend this will not have done courtesy.

L' oltra che segue è questa: reten a ti lo cugiale,
Se te fi tolegio la squella per azonzere de lo mangiale;
Se l' è lo cugial entro la squella, lo ministrante inpilia;
In tute le cortexie ben fa chi s' asetilia.

L' oltra è questa: se tu mangi con cugial,
No debie infolcire tropo pan entro mangiare;
Quello che fa impiastro entro mangià da fogo,
El fa fastidio a quilli che ghe mangiano da provo.

L' oltra che segue è questa: s' el tò amigo è tego,
Tan fin ch' el mangia al descho, sempre bochona sego;
Se forse t' astalasse, ni fosse sazio anchora,
Forse anchora s' astalarave per vergonza inlora.

L' oltra è: mangiando con oltri a qualche inviamento,
No mete entr' a guayna lo tò cortelo anze tempo;
No guerna lo cortello anze ch' alo compagno;
Forse oltro ven in descho d'onde tu no fè raxon.

La cortexia seguente è: quando tu è mangiao,
Fa sì che Jesu Xristo ne sia glorificao.
Quel che rezeve servixio d'alchun obediente,
S'elo no lo regratia, tropo è deschognosente.

La cinquantena per la darera:
Lavare le man, poy beve dro bon vino dra carera:
Le man poxe lo convivio per pocho pòn si lavae,
Da grassa e da sozura e l'in netezae.

[1] 'Chi s' asetilia.' Signor Biondelli cannot assign the exact sense of this verb. I should suppose it to be either a form of 'Assettarsi,' to settle oneself, to keep one's place, or a corruption of 'Assottigliarsi,' to subtilize, to be punctilious, to 'look sharp.'

[2] 'D' alchun obediente.' This phrase, if directly connected with the 'Jesu Xristo' of the previous line, seems peculiar. I am not quite clear whether

The next which follows is this: Keep thy spoon,
If thy plate is removed for the adding of some viands.
If the spoon is in the plate, it puts out the helper.
In all courtesies he does well who is heedful.[1] 184

The next is this: If thou art eating with a spoon,
Thou must not stuff too much bread into the victuals.
He who lays it on thick upon the cooked meats
Is distasteful to those who are eating beside him. 188

The next that follows is this: If thy friend is with thee,
As long as he eats at the board, always keep up with him.
If thou perchance wert to leave off, and he were not yet satisfied,
Maybe he also would then leave off through bashfulness. 192

The next is—Dining with others by some invitation,
Put not back thy knife into the sheath before the time:
Deposit not thy knife ere thy companion.
Perhaps something else is coming to table which thou dost not reckon for. 196

The succeeding Courtesy is—When thou hast eaten,
So do as that Jesus Christ be glorified therein.
He who receives service from any that obeys,[2]
If he thanks him not, is too ungrateful. 200

The fiftieth for the last.
Wash hands, then drink of the good and choice wine.[3]
After the meal, the hands may be a little washed,
And cleansed from grease and impurity. 204

the whole stanza is to be understood as an injunction to render grace after meat, in thankfulness for what Christ has given one—or to thank the *servants* who have been waiting at table, and so to glorify Christ by an act of humility.

[2] 'Dro bon vino dra carera.' The general sense is evidently near what the translation gives: but Signor Biondelli is unable to assign the *precise* sense. No wonder therefore that I am unable.

As far as I know (though I cannot affect to speak with authority) this poem by Fra Bonvicino, and those by Francesco da Barberino of which we shall next take cognisance, are considerably the oldest still extant Courtesy-Books (expressly to be so termed) of Christianized Europe;[1] except one, partly coming under the same definition, which has been mentioned to me by a well-read friend, Dr Heimann (of University College), but of which I have no direct personal knowledge.[2] This also, though written in the German language, is the production of an Italian. It is entitled *Der Wälsche Gast* (*the Italian Guest*), and dates about 1210. The author's name is given as Tomasin von Zirclaria, born in Friuli. The book supplies various rules of etiquette, in a very serious and well-intentioned tone, as I am informed.—Fra Bonvicino would, on the ground of his antiquity alone, be well deserving of study. His precepts moreover (with comparatively few exceptions) cannot even yet be called obsolete, though some of them are unsophisticated to the extent of being superfluous. In order that the reader may see in one *coup d'œil* the whole of this curious old monument I subjoin a classified abridgment of the injunctions :—

1. *Moral and Religious.*

To think of the poor first of all.
To remember grace before meat.
To eat enough, and not too much.
Not to get drunk.
To pass over for the time any cause of quarrel.
To say grace after meat.

2. *Practical Rules still fairly operative.*

To offer water for washing the hands before dinner.
Not to plump into a seat at table at haphazard.
To sit at table decorously and in good humour.

[1] Several others must nevertheless have been written before or about the same time; for Barberino himself, in the exordium to his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, says—

'There have been many who wrote books
Concerning the elegant manners of men, but not of women.'

[2] A full account of it by Mr Eugene Oswald follows the present Essay.

Not to tilt oneself forward on the table.

Not to gorge or bolt one's food.

To subordinate talking to eating.

Not to drink with one's mouth full.

To remain seated at table, even though fresh guests should arrive.

Not to suck at solid food eaten with a spoon.

To use up one's bread.

To abstain from raising objections to the dinner.

Not to scrutinize one's neighbour's plate.

To cut bread as it comes, not in all sorts of ways.

To carve for the ladies.

To give the guests prime cuts.

To make the guests thoroughly welcome, without oppressive urgencies.

To abstain at dinner from stroking cats and dogs.

Not to speak with one's mouth full.

To abstain from imparting bad news at dinner.

To keep down any symptoms of pain or illness.

To avoid calling attention to anything disagreeable which may accidentally be in the dishes.

The attendants to hold the dishes by their rims.

Not to hand round the bowl by its upper edge.

Not to overload the dishes, goblets, &c.

Not to hurry through with one's eating, so that others, who are left behind, would feel uncomfortable.

To wash hands and drink the best wine after dinner.

3. *Rules equally true and primitive.*

Not to tilt one's legs on the table between-whiles.

To turn aside if one sneezes or coughs.

Not to set down before the guests utensils fresh from the kitchen.

The attendants to be clean—not to spit, &c.

To blow one's nose on 'foot-cloths,' not through the fingers.

Not to scratch at one's head or elsewhere.

Not to pick one's teeth with the fingers.

Not to lick one's fingers clean.

4. *Rules which may be regarded as over-punctilious or obsolete.*

Not to sit at table with one's legs crossed.

To offer the cup to others only when they want it. (The rules as to drinking seem throughout to contemplate that two or more guests are using one cup or vessel.)

To use both hands in drinking.

Never to decline the cup when another offers it, but to drink no more than one wishes. (This rule still has its analogue at tables where the custom lingers of requesting 'the pleasure of taking wine with' some one else.)

Not to rummage about in the dish from which one is eating along with others.

Not to dip bread into the wine of which one is drinking along with others.

To suspend eating while a man of importance is drinking.

To postpone drinking till the man of importance has finished.

Not to speak to a man who is in the act of drinking. (This rule seems to contemplate 'potations pottle-deep,' such as engage all one's energies for some little while together: for a mere modern sip at a wine-glass such a rule would be superfluous.)

To retain one's spoon when one's plate is removed for another help. (*One* spoon, it may be inferred, is to last all through the meal, serving as a fork.)

Not to eat an excessive quantity of bread with the viands.

Not to re-place one's knife in its sheath prematurely. (It may be presumed that each guest brings his own knife.)

The reader who considers these rules in their several categories, and with due allowance for difference of times, manners, and 'properties,' will, I think, agree with me in seeing that the essentials of courtesy at table in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and in England in the nineteenth, are, after all, closely related; and that, while some of our Friar's tutorings would now happily be supererogatory, and others are inapplicable to present dining conveniences, not one is ill-bred in any correct use of that word. The details of etiquette vary indefinitely: the sense of courtesy is substantially one

and the same. In Fra Bonvicino's manual, it appears constantly in its genuine aspect, and prompted by its truest spirit—not so much that of personal correctness, each man for his own credit, as of uniform consideration for others.

The same is eminently the case with some of the precepts given by our next author, Francesco da Barberino. Nothing, for instance, can go beyond the true *rationale* of courtesy conveyed in the following injunction[1] (which we must not here degrade from its grace of Tuscan speech and verse):

'Colli minor sì taci,
E prendi il loco che ti danno; e pensa
Che, per far qui difensa,
Faresti lor, per tuo vizio, villani.'

Or this:[2]

'E credo che fa male
Colui che taglia essendo a suo maggiore:
Chè non v' è servitore
S'el non dimanda prima la licenza.'

Indeed, I think that the tone prevalent throughout Barberino's maxims of courtesy on all sorts of points is fairly to be called exquisite. Our extract from him brings us (it may be well to remember) into the closest contact with the social usages which Dante in his youth must have been cognisant of and conforming to; for, in passing from Bonvicino to Barberino, we have passed from Lombardy to Tuscany—the latter poet being a native of the Val d'Elsa, in the same district as Boccaccio's birth-place, Certaldo. The date assigned to Barberino's work, the *Documenti d'Amore*, is just about the same as that of Bonvicino's, or from 1290 to 1296. Yet I apprehend we must receive this early date with some hesitation. In 1290 Barberino was but twenty-six years of age; whereas the *Documenti d' Amore*, a lengthy and systematic treatise on all kinds of moral and social duties and proprieties, seems to be rich with the hoarded experience of years. That so young a man should even have sketched out for himself a work of such axiomatic oracularity seems *à priori* unlikely, though one has to accept the fact on authority: that he

[1] This injunction forms stanza 4 in our extract from Barberino beginning at p. 38.

[2] See at p. 40, the stanza beginning 'And I think that he does amiss.'

should towards that age have completed the poem as we now possess it appears to me barely compatible with possibility. His other long poem, still more singular on the like account, is referred to nearly the same date. I observe in it, however, one passage (Part 6) which *must* have been written after 1308, and probably after 1312. It refers to a story which had been narrated to Barberino 'one time that he was in Paris.' Now his journey on a mission to Provence and France began in 1309, and ended in 1313.

I shall here give place to my brother, and extract *verbatim* the notice of Barberino contained in his book of translations, *The Early Italian Poets.*[1]

'Francesco da Barberino: born 1264, died 1348.

'With the exception of Brunetto Latini (whose poems are neither very poetical nor well adapted for extract), Francesco da Barberino shows by far the most sustained productiveness among the poets who preceded Dante, or were contemporaries of his youth. Though born only one year in advance of Dante, Barberino seems to have undertaken, if not completed, his two long poetic treatises some years before the commencement of the *Commedia.*

'This poet was born at Barberino di Valdelsa, of a noble family, his father being Neri di Ranuccio da Barberino. Up to the year of his father's death, 1296, he pursued the study of law chiefly in Bologna and Padua; but afterwards removed to Florence for the same purpose, and became one of the many distinguished disciples of Brunetto Latini,[2] who probably had more influence than any other one man in forming the youth of his time to the great things they accomplished. After this he travelled in France and elsewhere; and on his return to Italy in 1313, was the first who, by special favour of Pope Clement V., received the grade of Doctor of Laws in Florence. Both as lawyer and as citizen, he held great trusts, and discharged

[1] *The Early Italian Poets, from Ciullo d'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri* (1100-1200-1300), *in the Original Metres: together with Dante's Vita Nuova. Translated by D. G. Rossetti. Smith and Elder,* 1862.

[2] There is evidently something erroneous in this statement: Brunetto died in 1294. The Editor of a collection of Italian Poets (*Lirici del Secolo secondo, &c.—Venezia, Antonelli,* 1841) says: 'Francesco went through his *first* studies under Brunetto Latini. *Hence he passed* to the Universities of Padua and of Bologna.' Barberino being a Tuscan, this seems the natural course for him to adopt, rather than to have gone to Padua and Bologna *before* Florence. My brother's remark, as to the death of Neri in 1296, and as to Francesco's *subsequent* sojourn in Florence, agrees, however, with the statement made by Tiraboschi: apparently we should understand that Francesco had been in Florence both before and after his stay in Padua and Bologna. and that his studies under Brunetto pertain to the earlier period.

them honourably. He was twice married, the name of his second wife being Barna di Tano, and had several children. At the age of eighty-four he died in the great plague of Florence. Of the two works which Barberino has left, one bears the title of *Documenti d'Amore*, literally *Documents* [1] *of Love*, but perhaps more properly rendered as *Laws of Courtesy;* while the other is called *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne,—of the Government and Conduct of Women.* They may be described, in the main, as manuals of good breeding or social chivalry—the one for men, and the other for women. Mixed with vagueness, tediousness, and not seldom with artless absurdity, they contain much simple wisdom, much curious record of manners, and (as my specimens show) occasional poetic sweetness or power—though these last are far from being their most prominent merits. The first-named treatise, however, has much more of such qualities than the second, and contains moreover passages of homely humour which startle by their truth, as if written yesterday. At the same time, the second book is quite as well worth reading, for the sake of its authoritative minuteness in matters which ladies now-a-days would probably consider their own undisputed region, and also for the quaint gravity of certain surprising prose anecdotes of real life with which it is interspersed. Both these works remained long unprinted; the first edition of the *Documenti d'Amore* being that edited by Ubaldini in 1640, at which time he reports the *Reggimento* &c. to be only possessed by his age "in name and in desire." This treatise was afterwards brought to light, but never printed till 1815. I should not forget to state that Barberino attained some knowledge of drawing; and that Ubaldini had seen his original MS of the *Documenti*, containing, as he says, skilful miniatures by the author.

'Barberino never appears to have taken a very active part in politics, but he inclined to the Imperial and Ghibelline party. This contributes with other things to render it rather singular that we find no poetic correspondence or apparent communication of any kind between him and his many great countrymen, contemporaries of his long life, and with whom he had more than one bond of sympathy. His career stretched from Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia, to Petrarca and Boccaccio: yet only in one respectful but not enthusiastic notice of him by the last-named writer (*Genealogia degli Dei*) do we ever meet with an allusion to him by any of the greatest men of his time. Nor in his own writings, as far as I remember, are *they* ever referred to. His epitaph is said to have been written by Boccaccio, but this is doubtful. On reviewing the present series, I am sorry, on the whole, not to have included more specimens of Barberino; whose writings, though not very easy to tackle in the mass, would afford an excellent field for selection and summary.'

[1] *Teachings* or *Lessonings of Love* might probably express the sense more exactly to an English ear.

Thus far my brother. I will only add to his biographical details that, at the very end of Francesco da Barberino's life, he and one of his sons were elected the Priori, or joint chief-magistrates of the Florentine Republic; and that the Barberini who came to the papal chair in 1623 as Urban VIII. was of the same family. His patronymic is enshrined to many loose memories in the epigram '*Quod non fecere Barbari fecere Barberini.*' To all that my brother has said of the qualities, and especially the merits, of Francesco, I cordially subscribe. The *Documenti d'Amore* is really a most capital book,—I should suppose, unsurpassed of its kind, and also in its interest for students of the early mediæval manners, and modes of thought. Its diction is remarkably condensed—(Italian scholars say that it shows strong traces of the author's Provençal studies and predilections)—and it is proportionately stiff work to hasty readers. Those who will peruse it deliberately, and weigh its words, find many niceties of laconism, and much terse and sententious good sense as well—lengthy as is the entire book. This is indeed no slight matter—twelve sections, and something like 8500 lines. It is exactly the sort of work to elicit and to account for editorial enthusiasm.

I extract in full the stanzas bearing directly upon that which (following the impulsion of Fra Bonvicino) has become our more immediate subject—the Courtesies of the Table. The tone of society which we find here is visibly in advance of the Lombard Friar's, though the express precepts of the two writers have a good deal of general resemblance: the superiority in this respect is very much the same as in the language. Barberino's diction seems quite worthy of a Tuscan contemporary of Dante, and his works are still drawn upon as a '*testo di lingua.*'

'The third point of good manners
Which thou art to observe at table
Thou mayst receive thus;
Thinking out for thyself the other details from these few.

And, in entering to table,
If he who says to thee "Go in" is a man of distinction,
On account of his dignity
It behoves thee not to dispute the going.

With thine equals, it beseems to decline
For awhile, and then to conform to their wish :
With superiors, affect
Just the least demur, and then acquiesce.

With inferiors, keep silence,
And take the place which they give thee : and reflect
That, by resisting here,
Thou, by thy default, wouldst be making *them* rude.

In thine own house, remain
Behind, if they are thy superiors or equals :
And, if thine inferiors, thou shalt seem
No other than correct if thou dost the same.

Understand the like, if thou givest
To eat to any persons out of thine own home :
Also remain behind when it happens
That thou art entertaining women.

Next consider about placing
Each person in the post that befits him.
Between relatives it behoves
To place others midway sometimes.

And, in this, honour the more
Those who are strangers, and retain the others by thyself :
And keep cheerful
Thy face and demeanour, and forbear with all.

Now I speak for every one.
He who is helping, let him help in equal portions.
He who is helped, let him not manœuvre
For the best, but take the less good.

They must not be pressed ;
For this is their own affair, and choice is free,
And one forces the preference
Of him who was abstaining, perhaps purposely.

He makes a fool of himself who prematurely lays aside
His plate, while the others are still eating ;
And he who untidily
Turns the table into a receptacle for scraps ;

And he who sneers
At what he does not like ; and he who hurries ;
And he who picks and chooses
Out of the viands which are in common ;

And those who seem more hungry
At the end than at the beginning ;

And also he who sets to
At fortifying himself,[1] or exploring the bottom of the platter.

Nor do I think it looks quite well
To gnaw the bone with the teeth, and still worse
To drop it into the saucepan;[2]
Nor is salt well deposited on the dish.

And I think that he does amiss
Who carves, being at the table of his superior;
For none can perform service
If he does not first ask leave.

With thine equal, begin,
If the knife lies at thy right hand:
If not, leave it to him.
With fruit, thou canst not fitly help thy companion.

With women, I need not tell thee:
But thou must help them to everything,
If there is not some one who undertakes
Both the carving and other details.

But always look to it
That thou approach not too close to any of them.
And, if one of them is a relative of thine,
Thou wilt give more room to the other.

And, in short, thou wilt then
Do and render honour to thine utmost:
And here always mind
That thou soil not their dress.

Look them in the face but little,
Still less at their hands while eating,
For they are apt to be bashful:
And with respect to them, thou mayst well say "Do eat."

When sometimes there come
Dishes or fruits, I praise him who thinks of avoiding
To take of those
Which cannot with cleanliness be handled.

Ill does the hand which hurries
To take a larger help out of a dish in common;
And worse he who does not well avoid
To loll, or set leg upon leg.

[1] 'Chi vuol fare merli.' The phrase means literally 'he who wants to make battlements'—or possibly 'to make thrushes.' I can only *guess* at its bearing in the present passage, having searched for a distinct explanation in vain. It seems to be one of the myriad '*vezzi di lingua*' of old Italian, and especially old Tuscan, idiom.

[2] 'Di mandar a laveggio.' I am far from certain as to the real meaning.

And be it observed
That here thou shouldst speak little and briefly :
Nor here must there be speech
Of aught save elegant and cheerful pleasantness.

. . . . . .

I have shown thee above
Concerning the respect due to [thy lord], and saluting him.
I will now tell thee
More than I before said concerning service.

Take care that, in every operation
Or service that thou dost before him,
Thou must think steadily
Of what thou art about, for it goes ill if thou art absent-minded.

Thou shouldst keep thine eye,
When thou servest him, on that which he likes.
The silent tongue is aright,
Always without questioning, during service ;

Also that thou keep thyself,
Thou who hast to serve, clean in dress and hands.
And I would have thee also serve strangers,
If they are at the meal with him.

Likewise have an eye to it
That thou keep things clean before him thou servest.
And thou dost well if thou keepest
The slice entire, if thou canst, in carving ;

And amiss if neglectfully
Thou makest too great a lump of the carved viands ;
And worse if thou art so long about it
That they have nothing to eat.

And, when there may be
Viands which make the hands uncleanly,
In some unobtrusive way
Get them washed by the time the next come on.

Thou shalt always be observant of the same
In bringing forward the fruits :
For to offer these about,
As I said before, befits not the guests.

Also I much complain
Of thee who wouldst then be correcting others :
For the present it must suffice thee,
In this case, to do right for thyself only.

He puts me out who has
So awkward a manner in cutting

That, in peeling a pear,
He takes up from three to nine o'clock;

And also he who keeps not good guard
Over his hand, and slips in cutting;
For he is prevented from serving,
And his lord sometimes has no one to serve him.

I dislike that he who serves
Should, in serving, speak of the doctor;
Unless maybe by way of obeying,
When he has it in command from him.

In giving water thou shalt be careful,
Considering the time and place:
Where there is little, little;
In the cold time, less cold—and, if very cold, warm.

When the sun is very hot,
Bring it abundantly, but mind the people's clothes.
Observe the station and the ages,
With regard to whom thou shalt begin with, if there is none to tell thee.[1]

At table it behoves
Not to give bad or offensive news;
Unless delay might produce
Danger—and then only to the person concerned.

Be thy mouth abstinent
From eating while the first table is set.
In drinking do likewise,
So far as gratification goes, but thirst excuses thee:

Which if thou feelest, accustom thyself
Not to drink underhand, nor of the best.
Neither is a servant liked
Who afterwards is long over his eating,

If he is where he *can* do this;
And still less he who sulks if he is called
When he has not yet done eating;
For he serves best who serves other than his gullet.'

[1] This precept, and especially a preceding one (p. 39) which enjoins the host to place the guests in their appropriate seats, keeping by himself those of less account, would seem to show that at this period the seats at the right and left of the host (or hostess) were by no means understood to be posts of honour. The absence of all mention, either in Bonvicino or in Barberino, of the hostess or her especial duties, strikes one as a singularity. That the hostess is nevertheless understood to be present may be fairly inferred from the clearly expressed presence of other ladies.

Before parting from the *Documenti d'Amore*, I will summarize a few more of Barberino's dicta on points of courtesy and demeanour in general.

There are seven offences in speaking: 1. Prolixity; 2. Curtness; 3. Audacity; 4. Mauvaise Honte; 5. Stuttering; 6. Beating about the bush; 7. Restlessness of gesture, and this is the least supportable of all. Remedies against all these evils are assigned. For the 6th, as we are told, the (then) modern usage is to speak out what you have to say with little or no proem. As to the 7th, the moving about, as a child would do, the hands, feet, or head, or the using action in speech, shows deficient firmness. See that you stand firm. Yet all this is to be modified according to place, time, and the auditory (It is amusing to find the dignified Tuscan of the thirteenth to fourteenth century reprobating that luxuriance of gesture which is one of the first things to strike an English eye in Italy down to our own day—more especially in the southern parts of the country. To have striven to obey Barberino's precept, under pain of being pronounced bad company, must have proved hard lines to some of his contemporaries and catechumens.)

If you chance into uncongenial company, take the first opportune occasion for getting away, with some parting words that shall not bewray your antipathy.

To casual companions speak on their own respective subjects; as of God to the clergy, health to doctors, design to painters. 'With ladies of refinement and breeding, laud and uphold their honour and state by pleasant stories not oftentimes told already. And, if any one is contrary and froward, reply in excuse and defence; for it is derogatory to contend against those the overcoming of whom is loss.'

If you come into the company of a great lord, or of persons who are all your superiors, and if they invite you to speak, inquire what the topic shall be. If you find nothing to say, wait for some one else to start you; and at worst be silent. In such company, be there no gesturing (again!).

If you are walking with a great lord in any country, conform in a measure to the usages there prevalent.

Following your superior, be respectful; to your equal, com-

plaisant, and treat him as superior; and, even with your inferior, tend towards the same line of conduct. This, however, does not apply to your own servant. Better exceed than fall short in showing respect to unknown persons. If your superior, in walking with you, wants to have you by his side, go to his left as a general rule, so that he may have the full use of his sword hand. If it rains, and he has no cloak, offer him yours; and, even if he declines, you must still dispense with it yourself. The like with your hat. Pay similar attentions to your equal, or to one that is a little your inferior: and even to your positive inferiors you must rather overdo courtesy than fall short. Thus also with women: you must explore the way for them, and attend on them, and in danger defend them with your life.

In church, do not pray aloud, but silently.

Wait not to be saluted. Be first in saluting; but do not overdo this, and never reiterate a salutation. Your own lord you must not salute, unless he comes from afar. You should uncover to him: then, if he is covered, cover again. Do not exceed in saluting an intimate, but enter at once into conversation; and do not hug him, unless he and you are indeed one.[1] Bow to ladies without much speaking: and in towns ascertain the ordinary practice in such cases, and observe it. If you see a female relative in your own town, she being alone, or in company with only one person, *and if she is handsome*, accost her as though she were not your relative, unless your relationship is a fact known to the bystanders. (This is a master-touch: and here is another, of a nearly similar sort)—

In serving a man of distinction, if you meet his wife, affect not to observe her; and, if she gives you any commission to fulfil, don't show that it gratifies you.

The 16th '*Documento*' sets forth 'the method of making presents so that the gift be acceptable.' It is so admirable in point of both sense and expression that I quote the original in a note, secure that *that* will be a gift acceptable to all such readers of these pages

[1] Prettily worded in the Italian:

'Nè abbracciar stringendo,
Se non sei ben una cosa con quello.'

as may be readers of Italian also.[1] What can be more perfect than the censure awarded to those who are in a chafe until, by reciprocating any service rendered to them, they shall have wiped it out?

'Be all aware
That it is no small flaw to mislike
Remaining under an obligation:
Nay, it then seems that one is liberal by compulsion.'

Barberino's second work, *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*, furnishes, strange to say, hardly any express rules for conduct at table; but some details may, for our general purpose, be picked out of an emporium whose abundance can be surmised from the following programme.

'Ancor c' è molta gente
Ch' han certi vizj in dono ed in servire,
Sì che poco gradire
Vediamo in lor quando ne fanno altrui:

Chè non pensano a cui,
Nè che nè come, nè tanto nè quanto.
Altri fanno un procanto
Di sue bisogne, e poi pur fanno il dono.

Ed altri certi sono
Che danno indugio, e credon far maggiore.
E molti che colore
Pongon a scusa, e poi pur fanno e danno.

Ed altri che, com' hanno
Servigio ricevuto, affrettan troppo
Disobbligar lo groppo
Col qual eran legati alli serventi:

Onde sien tutti attenti
Che non è picciol vizio non volere
Obbligato manere;
Anzi par poi che sforzato sia largo.

Dicemi alcuno: 'Io spargo
Li don, per mia libertate tenere;
Non per altrui piacere.'
Questo è gran vizio: ed è virtù maggiore,

E più porta d'onore,
Saver donar la sua persona altrui,
Ricevendo da lui,
E star apparecchiato a meritare.

E non ti vo' lassare
Lo vizio di colui che colla faccia
Non vuol dar sì che piaccia,
Ma turba tutto, e sta gran pezza mutto.

'I will divide this work into 20 parts':
And each part
Shall present certain distinct grades,
As the foregoing reading shows.
The 1st will relate how a girl
Should conduct herself
When she begins to appreciate right and wrong,
And to fear shame.
2nd, How, when
She comes to a marriageable age.
3rd, How, when she has passed
The period for marriage.
4th, if, after she has given up the hope of ever
Obtaining a husband, it happens
That yet she gets one, and remains
At home awhile before going to him.
The 5th, How, after she is married;
And how the first, and how
The second and third,
Up to fifteen days; and the first month,
And the second and third;
And how on to her end:
Both before having children, and afterwards, and if she
Has none: and how in old age.
The 6th, How, if she loses her husband:
And how if she is old;
And how if she is of middle age;
And how if she is left young;
And how if she has children;
And how if she is a grandmother;
And how if she still
Remains mistress of her husband's property;
And if she, being a widow, takes
The garb of religion.
The 7th sets forth
How she should comport herself
If she marries again;
And how if to a better [husband],
And how if to a worse
And less wealthy one;
And how if she yet goes to a third;
And how, after she has become a widow,
And has again taken a husband,
She remains awhile at home
Before going to him;
And how far re-marrying is praised or blamed.
8th, How, she

Who assumes the habit
Of a religious order at home ;
And how this is praised or no.
9th, How, being shut up in a monastery
In perpetual reclusion;
And how the Abbess, Superior, and Prioress,
And every other Portress or Nun.
10th, How she
Who secludes herself alone
Is named a Hermitess ; and wherein this is to blame.
11th, How
The maid who is
In companionship with a lady;
And how if she is alone,
And how if one among others in the like office.
12th, How
Every serving-woman shall conduct herself,
Whether serving a lady alone, or a lady along
With the master ; and also if any, by herself,
Serves a master ; and how
This is to be praised, and how not.
13th, How,
A nurse in the house, and how apart.
14th, How,
The female serf or slave ;[1]

[1] The mention of a slave in a Florentine household of the late 13th or early 14th century may startle some readers. I translate the note which Signor Guglielmo Manzi, the editor of the *Reggimento*, supplies on this subject. 'Slavery, which abases mankind, and revolts humanity and reason, diminished greatly when the Christian religion was introduced into the Roman Empire—that religion being in manifest opposition to so barbarous a system. The more the one progressed in the world, the more did the other wane ; and, as Bodino observes in his book *De Republicâ*, slavery had ceased in Europe, to a great extent, by 1200. I shall follow this author, who is the only one to afford us some degree of light amid so great obscurity. In the year 1212 there were still, according to him, slaves in Italy ; as may be seen from the ordinances of William, King of Sicily, and of the Emperor Frederick II. for the kingdom of Naples, and from the decretals of the Popes Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III., concerning the marriages of slaves. The first of these Popes was elected in 1158, the second in 1185, and the third in 1198 ; so that the principle of liberty cannot be dated earlier than in or about 1250—Bartolo, who lived in the year 1300, writing (*Hostes de Captivis*, I.) that in his time there were no slaves, and that, according to the laws of Christendom, men were no longer put up to sale. This assertion, however, conflicts with the words of our author, who affirms that in his time—that is, at the commencement of the 14th century—the custom existed. But, in elucidation of Bartolo, it should be said that he implied that men were no longer sold, on the ground that this was prohibited by the laws of Christendom, and the edicts of sovereigns. In France it can be shown that in 1430 Charles VII. gave their

And how, being a serf,
She may afterwards, through her conduct, obtain her liberty.
15th, How
Every kind of woman
Of the common sort should behave,
And of a lower and poorer sort; and all
Save the bad ones of dissolute life
Who sell their honour for money,—
Whom I do not purpose
To put in writing,
Nor to make any mention of them,
For they are not worthy to be named.
16th treats
Of certain general precepts
To all women; and of their ornaments,
And their adventures.
17th, of their consolations.
18th, because sometimes
They must know how to speak and converse
And answer, and be in company,
Here will be treated upon questions of love
And courtesy and breeding.
19th treats
Of certain motetts and messages [1]
Of ladies to knights,
And of other sorts
Of women and men.
The 20th treats
Of certain orisons.
And in this part is the conclusion
Of the book; and how I carry this book
To the Lady who is above-named,[2]

liberty to some persons of servile condition; and even in the year 1548 King Henri II. liberated, by letters patent, those of the Bourbonnais: and the like was done throughout all his states by the Duke of Savoy in 1561. In the Hundred Tales of Boccaccio we have also various instances showing that the sale of free men was practised in Italy. These are in the 6th Tale of the 2nd Day, the story of Madonna Beritola, whose sons remained in Genoa in serfdom; and in the 6th of the 5th Day, the story of Frederick, King of Sicily; and in the 7th of the same Day, the story of Theodore and Violante. It is therefore clear, from all this evidence, that, in the time of Messer Francesco, so execrable a practice was still prevalent; and, summing up all we have said, it must be concluded that serfdom, in non-barbarian Europe, was not entirely extinguished till the 16th century.'

[1] 'Mottetti e parlari.' Only a few specimens of these are given, and they are all sufficiently occult. Here is one. 'Grande a morte, o la morte. Di molte se grava morte. [Responde Madonna] Dolci amorme, quel camorme, dunque amorme conveniarme.'

[2] This Lady is an ideal or symbolic personage—presumably Wisdom.

And how she receives it;
And how the Virtues
Come before her.'

The promise here is rich indeed, and the performance also is rich; though it may fairly be said that various sections fall considerably below one's expectations, and some of them are jejune enough. But, after every deduction has been made, the work fills a niche of its own, and without competitor.

I add a few of the details most germane to our purpose.

A young girl should drink but little, and that diluted. She must not loll at table, nor prop her arms thereon. Here she should speak even less than at other times. The daughters of Knights (Cavalier da Scudo), Judges, Physicians, or others of similar condition, had better learn the art of cooking, though possibly circumstances will not call upon them to put it in practice.

A Princess approaching the marriageable age should not go out to church; as she ought, as far as possible, to avoid being seen about. (The marriageable age, be it understood, is very early by Barberino's reckoning, being twelve years.) A woman should never go out alone.

An unmarried young lady had better wear a topaz, which is proved by experience to be an antidote to carnal desire.

A Provençal gentleman, who was praising his wife for her extreme simplicity in attire, was asked, 'Why then does she comb her hair?' He replied: 'To show that she is a woman, whose very nature it is to be trim in person.'

A Lady's-maid should not tell tales to her mistress of any peccadilloes of the husband: still less should she report to the husband anything against his wife, unless it be a grave and open misdoing.

The section concerning Nurses (Part 13) contains much curious matter: especially as showing how much reliance was placed upon swaddling and other details of infant management, for the improvement of good looks, and correction of blemishes. Here we find also that the system against which Rousseau waged such earnest war, of mothers' not suckling their own children, was already in full vigour in Barberino's time. He enters no protest against it; but does recommend mothers to follow the more natural plan, if they can, and so please God, and earn the children's love.[1]

A she-Barber must not ogle or flirt with her customers, but attend to her washes and razors. A Fruiteress must not put green leaves with old fruits, nor the best fruits uppermost, to take her customers in. A Landlady must not sell re-cooked victuals.

[1] Matteo Palmieri (see p. 58) indicates that the state of things was the same in his time, about 1430: he is more decided than Barberino in condemning it.

A shrew earns the stick sometimes; nor should that form of correction be spared to women who gad about after fortune-tellers.

Beware of a Doctor who scrutinizes your pretty face more than your symptoms. Also of a Tailor who wants to serve you gratis, or who is over-officious in trying on your clothes: and beware still more of a Tailor who is tremulous. If you go to any balls where men are present, let it be by day, or at any rate with abundance of light.

The use of thick unguents is uncleanly, especially in hot weather; it makes the teeth black, the lips green, and the skin prematurely old-looking. Baths of soft water, not in excess, keep the skin young and fresh: but those in which hot herbs are boiled scorch and blacken it. Dark hair becomes lighter by being kept uncovered, especially in moonlight.

'Courtesy is liberal magnificence, which suffers not violence, nor ingenuity, nor obligation, but pleases of itself alone.'

To these brief jottings I subjoin one extract of some length, descriptive of the marriage-festivity of a Queen. To abridge its details would be to strip it of its value: but I apprehend that some of these details require to be taken *cum grano salis*, Barberino having allowed himself a certain poetical license.

Now it behoves to dine.
The trumpets sound, and all the instruments,
Sweet songs and diversions around.
Boughs, with flowers, tapestries, and satins,
Strewn on the ground; and great lengths of silk
With fine fringes and broiderings on the walls.
Silver and gold, and the tables set out,
Covered couches, and the joyous chambers,
Full kitchens and various dishes;
Donzels deft in serving,
And among them damsels still more so.
Tourneying in the cloisters and pathways;
Closed balconies and covered loggias;
Many cavaliers and people of worth,
Ladies and damsels of great beauty.
Old women hidden in prayer to God,
Be they served there where they stay.
Wines come in, and abundant comfits;
There are the fruits of various kinds.
The birds sing in cages, and on the roofs:
The stags leap, and fawns, and deer.
Open gardens, and their scent spreads.
There greyhounds and braches run in the leash.
Pretty spaniel pets with the ladies:

Several parrots go about the tables.
Falcons, ger-falcons, hawks, and sparrow-hawks,
Carry various snakes all about.
The palfreys houselled at the doors;
The doors open, and the halls partitioned
As suits the people that have come.
Expert seneschals and other officers.
Bread of manna only, and the weather splendid.
Fountains rise up from new springs:
They sprinkle where they are wanted, and are beautiful.

The trumpet sounds, and the bridegroom with his following
Chooses his company as he likes.
Ladies amorous, joyous, and lovely,
Trained, and noble, and of like age,
Take the bride, and usher her as befits:
They give her place to sit at table.
Now damsels and donzels around,
The many ladies who have taken their seats,
All prattle of love and joy.

A gentle wind which keeps off the flies
Tempers the air, and refreshes hearts.
From the sun spring laughs in the fields:
Nowhere can the eye settle.
At your foot run delightful rills:
At times the fish leap from the water.
Jongleurs[1] clad by gift:
Here vestments of fashion unprecedented,
There with pearls and precious stones
Upon their heads, and solemn garb:
Here are rings which emit a splendour
Like that of the sun outside.
Now all the men and all the ladies have washed,
And then the water is given to the bride:
And I resume speaking of her deportment.

Let her have washed her hands aforetime,
So that she may then not greatly bedim the water.
Let her not much set-to at washing in the basin,
Nor touch mouth or teeth in washing:

[1] 'Uomin di corte.' This term was first applied to heralds, chamberlains, and the like court-officials: subsequently to the entertainers of a court, 'giullari,' jesters, and buffoons: and in process of time it came to include courtiers of whatever class. In the early writers—such as Barberino, Boccaccio, &c.—it is not always easy for a translator to pitch upon the precise equivalent: the reader should understand a personage who might be as romantic as a Troubadour, or as quaint as a Touchstone—but tending rather towards the latter extreme.

For she can do this afterwards in her chamber,
When it shall be needful and fitting.
Of the savoury and nicest viands
Let her accept, but little, and avoid eating many:
And let her, several days before, have noted
The other customs above written;
Here let her observe those which beseem the place.
Let her not intervene to reprehend the servitors,
Nor yet speak, unless occasion requires.
Let it appear that she hardly minds any diversion,
But that only timidity quenches her pleasure:
But let her, in eating, so manage her hands
That, in washing, the clear water may remain.
The table being removed, let her stay with the ladies
Somewhat more freely than at her arrival:
Yet for this day let her, I pray,
Abstain from laughing as far as she can, keeping
Her countenance so as not to appear out of humour,
But only timid, as has often been said.
If the other ladies sleep that day,
Let her also repose among them,
And prepare herself the better for keeping awake.
Let her drinking be small. I approve a light collation,
Eating little: and in like wise at supper
Let her avoid too many comfits or fruits:
Let her make it rather slight than heavy.

Some ladies make ready to go,
And some others to retire to their chambers.
Those remain who are in charge of her:
All approach to cheer her.
She embraces her intimates:
Let her make the kindest demonstrations to all—
'Adieu, adieu'—tearful at parting.
They all cheer her up, and beg her to be
Confident, and many vouch
That her husband has gone to a distance:
Her guardians say the same.
They bring her inwards to a new chamber,
Whose walls are so draped
That nothing is seen save silk and gold;
The coverlets starred, and with moons.
The stones shine as it were the sun:
At the corners four rubies lift up a flame
So lovely that it touches the heart:
Here a man kindles inside and out.
Richest cambrics cover the floor.

Here baldaquins and the benches around
All covered with woven pearls;
Pillows all of smooth samite,
With the down of griffin-birds[1] inside;
Many topazes, sapphires, and emeralds,
With various stones, as buttons to these.
Beds loaded on beds with no bedstead,
Draped all with foreign cloths:[2]
Above the others the chiefest and soft,
With a new covering of byssus.[3]
Of this the down is from the phœnix-bird:[4]
It has one bolster and no more,
Not too large, but of fine form.
Over it sheets of worked silk,
Soft, yielding, delicate, and durable:
A superb quilt, and cuttings-out[5] within;
And, traced with the needle and of various cutting,
Fishes and birds and all animals.
A vine goes round the whole,
The twigs of pearls, and the foliage of gems,
Among which are those of all virtues,
Written of or named as excellent.
In the midst of it turns a wheel
Which represents the figure of the world;
Wherein birds, in windows of glass,
Sing if you will, and if not they are all mute.
There puppies of various kinds,
Not troublesome, and they make no noise:
If you call them, they make much of you.
On the benches flowers heaped and strewn—
Great is the odour, but not excessive:
Much balsam in vessels of crystal.

[1] 'Uccelli grifoni.' This seems a daring suggestion: possibly, as a griffin is a compound of eagle and lion, we are to understand that the eagle is the griffin-*bird*.

[2] 'Drappi oltramarin'—which *may* mean foreign (from beyond sea), or else of ultramarine colour: I rather suppose the former.

[3] 'Lana di pesce'—literally, fish's wool. The term is new to me, nor do I find it explained in dictionaries: I can only therefore surmise that it designates the silky filaments of certain sea-mollusks, such as the pinna of the Mediterranean. This byssus is still made use of in Italy for gloves and similar articles.

[4] ! !

[5] 'Intaglj;' and the next line gives the word 'Scolture. Giovanni Villani notes that in 1330 a prohibition was issued against 'dresses cut-out or painted:' the fashion having run into the extravagance of 'dresses cut-out with different sorts of cloth, and made of stuffs trimmed variously with silks.'

A nurse says: 'All things are yours.
You will lie by yourself in that bed:
We will all be sleeping here.'
They show her the wardrobe at one side,
Wherein they say that they remain keeping watch.
They wash the Lady's face and hands
With rose-water mixed with violets,
For in that country such is the wont.
They dress her hair, wind up her tresses,
Stand round about her, help her to disrobe.
Who takes her shoes off, happy she!
Her shoes are by no means of leather.
They look her in the face whether she is timorous:
She prays them to stay.
They tell her that they will sleep outside the bed,
At her feet, on the cloths I have spoken of.
They make-believe to do so, and the Lady smiles.
They put her to bed: first they hold her,—
They turn the quilt over: and, her face being displayed,
All the shows of gems and draperies
Wane before that amorous beauty
Which issues from the eyes she turns around.
Her visage shines: the nurses disappear:
The Lady closes her eyes, and sleeps.

Then these nurses trick the Lady.
They leave by the door which they had not shown her:
They go to the bridegroom who is waiting outside.
Him they tell of the trick.
There come around the new knight,
Young lord, puissant crown,
Many donzels and knights who wait
Solely for his chamber-service.
They give him water, as to the Lady:
His blond head each adorns,
Bright his countenance. Every one
Has gladness and joy, glad in his happiness.
They leave him in his jerkin, they bring him within:
They take off his shoes at the draped entry.
They all without, and the nurses at one side,
Stay quiet. A réveillée begins,
And so far off that it gives no annoy.

The comely King crosses himself, and looks:
The Lady and the gems make a great splendour,
And it seems to him that this Queen is asleep.
He enters softly, and wholly undresses:
It appears that the Lady heaves a sigh.

The King is scared: he covers himself up in the bed.
He signals to the birds to sing:
They all begin, one by one, and low.[1]
The signal tells them to raise their note:
Higher they rise in singing—and perchance
This noise may wake the Lady up.
Again he signals that they should all trill louder.

The Lady heaves a sigh, and asks,
'Who is there?'—Says the King: 'I am one
Whom thy beauties have brought hither.'
She is troubled, and calls the nurses.
The King replies: 'I have turned them all out.
She moves, wanting to get up:
She finds no clothes, for they have carried them away.
The King remains quiet, and waits to see
In what way he may be able to please her,
And says to her: 'I have only come hither
To speak to thee a few words:
Listen a little, and then I will go.'

An elaborate dialogue ensues, conducted on the most high-paced footing of enamoured courtesy. It contains the strangely beautiful passage translated in my brother's *Early Italian Poets*, and which I reproduce here; taking therewith my leave both of this singular specimen of how Kings and Queens might, would, could, or should confer on their bridal-night, and also of Francesco da Barberino himself. The Queen is the speaker.

'Do not conceive that I shall here recount
All my own beauty: yet I promise you
That you, by what I tell, shall understand
All that befits and that is well to know.
My bosom, which is very softly made,
Of a white even colour without stain,
Bears two fair apples, fragrant, sweetly savoured,
Gathered together from the Tree of Life
The which is in the midst of Paradise.
And these no person ever yet has touched;
For out of nurse's and of mother's hands
I was when God in secret gave them me.

[1] These seem to be very obedient birds: and their position, behind glass windows in a globe figuring the world, was rather an odd one to modern notions. The reader will keep me company in guessing whether or not we are to take the whole description *au pied de la lettre*.

These ere I yield I must know well to whom ;
And, for that I would not be robbed of them,
I speak not all the virtue that they have :
Yet thus far speaking— Blessed were the man
Who once should touch them, were it but a little :
See them I say not, for that might not be.
My girdle, clipping pleasure round-about,
Over my clear dress even unto my knees
Hangs down with sweet precision tenderly ;
And under it Virginity abides.
Faithful and simple and of plain belief
She is, with her fair garland bright like gold,
And very fearful if she overhears
Speech of herself ; the wherefore ye perceive
That I speak soft lest she be made ashamed.
Lo ! this is she who hath for company
The Son of God, and Mother of the Son.
Lo ! this is she who sits with many in heaven :
Lo ! this is she with whom are few on earth.'

Tiraboschi mentions a book which might perhaps be useful in further illustrating Italian manners at the end of the 13th century : but I have no direct knowledge of it,—a Treatise on the Governing of a Family, written by Sandro di Pippozzo in 1299. A treatise on Moral Virtues (*Sopra le Virtù Morali*) was composed by Graziolo de' Bombaglioli, a Bolognese, in Italian verse, with a comment in Latin, the date being about the middle of the 14th century ; and was published in 1642, being at that time mistakenly attributed to King Robert of Naples. It is not a Courtesy-Book ; but, referring back to what has been said (on p. 12) regarding the definitions of nobility given by Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Barberino, I may cite part of what Bombaglioli says on the same subject :

'Neither long-standing wealth nor blood confers nobility ;
But virtue makes a man noble (*gentile*) ;
And it lifts from a vile place
A man who makes himself lofty by his goodness.'

A third and older book, no doubt very much to our purpose, would be one which Ubaldini (in his edition of Barberino's *Reggimento*) refers to as having been laid under contribution by that poet in compiling his *Documenti d'Amore*—viz. a rhymed composition, in the Romagnole dialect, on Methods of Salutation, by Ugolino Brucola

(or Bruzola). This work, again, is unknown to me; and, as I can trace no mention of it even in Tiraboschi, a writer of most omnivorous digestion, I infer that it may not improbably have perished.

Skipping therefore about a century and a quarter, within which Italian literature was made for ever illustrious by the *Commedia* of Dante, and the writings of Petrarca and Boccaccio, not to speak of others, we come to the early 15th century, still in Florence.

Agnolo Pandolfini wrote on the same subject as Sandro di Pippozzo, the Governing of a Family (*Del Governo della Famiglia*). He died in 1446, aged about 86; and the date of his treatise seems to be towards 1425—30. This work must not be confounded with one bearing the same title, frequently cited in the Dizionario della Crusca, and which deals more particularly with morals and religion. Pandolfini, both by birth and doings, was a very illustrious son of Florence: in 1414, 1420, and 1431, he held the highest dignity of the state, that of Gonfalonier of Justice. He opposed the banishment of Cosmo de' Medici, and was treated with distinguished honour by that great though dangerous citizen on his return. His treatise takes the form of a dialogue, wherein Agnolo holds forth *ore rotundo* to his sons and grandsons. The old gentleman is indeed fearfully oracular, and possessed with a fathomless belief in himself. He writes well, and with plenty of good sense. His book is not, in the straitest acceptation of the term, a Courtesy-Book, but rather a cross between the moral and the prudential—a dissertation of Œconomics. Here are some samples of his lore.

To choose a house wherein one can settle comfortably for life is a great consideration. A locality with good air and good wine should be sought out: better to buy it than to rent it. The whole family should have one roof, one entrance-door, one fire, and one dining-table: this subserves the purposes both of affection and of thrift.

The family and household should be well dressed. Even when living a country life, they should keep on the town dress: good cloth and cheerful colours, but without fancy-ornaments save for the women.

The head of the family should commit to his wife the immediate care of the household goods: men, however careful, should not be poking and prying into every corner, and looking whether the candles have too thick a wick. 'It is well for every lady to know

how to cook, and prepare all choice viands; to learn this from cooks when they come to the house for banquets; to see them at work, ask questions, learn, and bear in mind, so that, when guests come who ought to be received with welcome, the ladies may know and order all the best things—and so not have to send every time for cooks. This cannot be done at a moment's notice, and especially when one is in the country, where good cooks are not to be had, and strangers are more in the way of being asked. Not indeed that the lady is to cook; but she should order, teach, and show the less skilful servants to do everything in the best way, and make the best dishes suitable to the season and the guests.'

'I [the infallible Agnolo Pandolfini] always liked so to order the household that, at whatever hour of day or night, there should always be some one at home to look after all casualties that might happen to the inmates. And I always kept in the house a goose and a dog—wakeful animals, and, as we see, suspicious and attached; so that, one of them rousing the other, and calling up the household, the house might always be secure.'

Always buy of the best—food, clothes, &c., &c. 'Good things cost less than the not good.'

That Agnolo Pandolfini was regarded as a great authority not by himself alone is proved by the fact that Matteo Palmieri, the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (*Della Vita Civile*), makes him the principal speaker. And this was perhaps even during Agnolo's lifetime: the assumed date of the colloquy being 1430 (very much the same as that of Pandolfini's own book), and the actual date of composition being probably enough not many years later. Palmieri was born in Florence in 1405, and died in 1475, honoured for conspicuous integrity, and distinguished by many public employments. The *Vita Civile* is regarded as his most important literary work. The interlocutors, besides Pandolfini, are a Sacchetti and a Guicciardini. The subject-matter is more grave and weighty than that of a Courtesy-Book strictly so called, though we may dip into it for a detail or two. The following is Palmieri's own account of the work:

'The whole performance is divided into four books. In the 1st the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man; showing by what nurture and according to what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness; and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act, in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence, in the former of these, Temperance,

Fortitude, and Prudence, are treated of at large—also other virtues comprised in these. The next is 3rd in order, and is all devoted to Justice, which is the noblest part of men, and above all others necessary for maintaining every well-ordered commonwealth. Wherefore here is diffusely treated of Civil Justice; how people should conduct themselves in peace; and how wars are managed; how, within the city by those who hold the magistracies, and beyond the walls by the public officials, the general well-being is provided for. The last book alone is written concerning Utility, and provides for the plenty, ornament, property, and abundant riches, of the whole body politic. Then in the final portion, as last conclusion, is shown, not without true doctrine, what is the state of the souls which in the world, intent upon public good, have lived according to the precepts of life here set forth by us; in reward whereof they have been by God received into heaven, to be happy eternally in glory with his saints.'

Palmieri would have boys eschew any sedentary pastimes. They may jump, run, and play at ball; and music is highly suitable for them. To beat them is a barbarism. This may indeed, sometimes and perhaps, be necessary with boys 'who are to follow mechanical and servile arts,' but not with those who are carefully brought up by father and preceptor. Begin with encouragements to the well-behaved, and admonitions to the naughty: and the severer punishments should be 'to shut him in; to withhold such food and other things as he best likes, to take away his clothing, and so on; to make him ponder long while over his misdoing.' (This is singularly gentle discipline for A.D. 1430: indeed Palmieri intimates that 'almost all people' advocated manual correction in his time. Had any other writer, of so early a date, discovered that 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is not the sum-total of management for minors?)

A dinner-party is considered well made up, in point of numbers, if the persons present are not less than three, nor more than nine. A larger number than the latter cannot all join together in united conversation.

'The expenses of a munificent man should be in things that bring honour and distinction; not private, but public—as in buildings, and ornaments of churches, theatres, loggias, public feasts, games, entertainments; and in such like magnificences he should not compute nor reckon how much he spends, but by what means the works may be to the utmost wonderful and beautiful.' (Nice

doctrine this for some of our conscript fathers in England, whose perennial diligence is, as Carlyle says, 'preserving their game.' But the Florentine Republic was in that outcast condition that the noblemen were not only not hereditary legislators, but were *ipso facto* excluded from all public employment, unless they enrolled themselves in the commonalty by belonging to one of the legislating guilds.)

Both Pandolfini and Palmieri are authors of good repute in Italian literature: but by no means equal to the writer next on our list, Baldassar Castiglione, with his book named *The Courtier* (*Il Cortigiano*). This is a remarkably choice example of Italian prose; which is the more satisfactory because Castiglione was not a Tuscan, but a Mantuan, and a proclaimed enemy of that narrow literary creed, the palladium of pedants and ever-recurring bane of strong individualism among Italian writers, that, save in the Florentine-Tuscan language (or dialect) of the '*buon secolo*,' the days of Petrarca and Boccaccio, there is no orthodoxy of diction. Some noticeable details on this point are to be found in the *Cortigiano*: showing that the ultra-purists of that time insisted upon the use by writers, whether Tuscan or belonging to other parts of Italy, of words occurring in Petrarca and Boccaccio already quite obsolete and hardly intelligible even in Tuscany—and also upon the use of corrupt forms of words framed from the Latin, because these pertained to the Tuscan idiom, even although correct forms of the same words were in current use in other Italian regions. In all such regards Castiglione claims for himself unfettered latitude of choice: the verbal precisian, scared at his theoretic license, is surprised and relieved to find that after all the book is not only endurable in style, even to his own punctilious ears, but particularly elegant.

Baldassar Castiglione was born on the 6th of December 1478[1] at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory. Noble and handsome, he grew up almost universally accomplished and learned; a distinguished connoisseur; and valued by all the most eminent men of his time. His full-length portrait appears in one of the frescoes of

[1] Tiraboschi says 1468; but that, as far as I can trace, is a mistake.

Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican. He went on many embassies —among others, to England. Henry VIII., of whose youthful promise he speaks in the most rapturous terms, knighted him: the Emperor Charles V. said that by Castiglione's death chivalry lost its brightest luminary. His career closed at Toledo on the 2nd of February 1529. Among his writings are poems in Latin and Italian, but his chief work is the *Cortigiano*. This was composed between the years 1508 and 1518; and published in 1528, in a state which its author regarded as somewhat hurried and incomplete. It is written in the narrative form, but consisting principally of dialogue, or indeed of successive monologues; and purports to relate certain *conversazioni* (rightly to be so called) which were held in 1506 in the court of Urbino, for the delectation of the Duchess Elisabetta della Rovere (by birth a Gonzaga) and her ladies. The topic proposed for treatment is—what should a perfectly qualified Courtier be like? The principal speakers on the general subject are the Conte Lodovico da Canossa, Federico Fregoso, and Ottavian Fregoso; Bernardo Bibiena takes up the special question of *facetiæ*, and Giuliano de' Medici speaks of the Court Lady, and generally in honour of women.

The term Courtier has not a very exalted sound to a modern or English ear: but Castiglione's ideal Courtier is a truly noble and gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than splendid qualities. His ultimate *raison d'être* is that he should always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict truth of all things which it behoves him to know—certainly a sufficiently honourable and handsomely unfulfilled duty. The tone throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly rectitude:[1] indeed, the book as a whole is hardly what one associates mentally with the era of Pagan Popes,—of a Cæsar Borgia just cleared off from Romagna, and an Alessandro de' Medici impending over Florence.

[1] It may be fair to state that the work, as first published, was put in the Roman index of prohibited books; and that the reissues (including no doubt the edition known to me) have omitted the inculpated passages. Whether these were objected to on moral or rather on ecclesiastical grounds I cannot affirm: the book as now printed is not only quite free from immoralities, but is decidedly moral, whereas there remains at least one passage of a tone such as churchmen resent *ex officio*.

Almost the only illustration which Castiglione supplies of the art of dining is the following anecdote:

'The Marquis Federico of Mantua, father of our Lady Duchess, being at table with many gentlemen, one of them, after he had eaten a whole stew, said, "My Lord Marquis, pardon me;" and, so saying, he began to suck up the broth that was left. Forthwith then said the Marquis: "You should ask pardon of the pigs, for to me there is no harm done at all!"'

Some other points I take as they come.

'Having many a time reflected wherefrom Grace arises (not to speak of those who derive it from the stars), I find one most universal rule, which seems to me to hold good, in this regard, in all human things done and said, more than aught else; and this is—to avoid affectation as much as one can, and as a most bristling and perilous rock, and (to use perhaps a new-coined word) to do everything with a certain slightingness [*sprezzatura*], which shall conceal art, and show that what is done and said comes to one without trouble and almost without thinking.' Yet there may be as much affectation in slightingness itself as in punctilio. Instances adduced of the latter, as regards the care of the person, are the setting a scrap of looking-glass in a recess of one's cap, and a comb in one's sleeve, and keeping a page to follow one perpetually about with a sponge and a clothes-brush. Female affectations were 'the plucking out the hair of eyebrows and forehead, and undergoing all those inconveniences which you ladies fancy to be altogether occult from men,' and which nevertheless are all known.'

The perfect Courtier ought to know music—sing at sight, and play on various instruments; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the viol, and most especially thus singing in recitative [*per recitare*], 'which adds to the words so much grace and force that great marvel it is.' All stringed instruments are well suited for the Courtier; not so wind-instruments, 'which Minerva interdicted to Alcibiades, because they have an unseemly air.' The Court Lady also ought to have knowledge of letters, music, and painting, as well as of dancing, and how to bear her part in entertainments [*festeggiare*].

'Old men blame in us many things which, of themselves, are neither good nor bad, but only because *they* used not to do them: and they say that it is unbefitting for young men to go through the city riding, especially on mules; to wear in the winter fur linings and long robes; to wear a cap [*berretta*], at any rate until the man has reached eighteen years of age,—and other the like things. Wherein in sooth they mistake: for these customs, besides being convenient and serviceable, are introduced by fashion, and universally accepted,—as aforetime to dress in the open tunic [*giornea*], with open

hose and polished shoes, and for gallantry to carry all day a hawk on the fist for no reason, and to dance without touching the lady's hand, and to adopt many other modes which, as they would now be most awkward, so then were they highly prized.'

Federico Fregoso, the chief speaker of the second evening, is of opinion that a man of rank ought not to honour with his presence a village feast, where the spectators and company would be coarse people. To this Gaspar Pallavicino demurs; saying that, in his native Lombardy, many young noblemen will dance all day under the sun with country people, and play with them at wrestling, running, leaping, and so on—exercises of strength and dexterity in which the countrymen are often the winners. Fregoso rejoins that this, if done at all, should be not by way of emulation but of complaisance, and when the nobleman feels tolerably sure of conquering; and generally, in all sorts of exercises save feats of arms, he should stop short of anything like professional zeal or excellence. [A concluding hint worth consideration in these days of 'Athletic Clubs.']

The discourse of Bernardo Bibiena on *facetiæ* is a magazine of good things, both anecdotic, epigrammatic, and critical. The speaker is particularly severe on 'funny men' and 'jolly dogs'; concerning whom I venture to introduce one consecutive extract of some little length.

'The Courtier should be very heedful of his beginnings, so as to leave a pleasing impression, and should consider how baneful and fatal it is to fall into the contrary. And this danger do they more than others run who make it their business to be amusing, and assume with these their quips a certain liberty authorizing and licensing them to do and say whatever strikes them, without any consideration. Thus these people start off on matters whence, not knowing their way out again, they try to help themselves off by raising a laugh: and this also they do so scurvily that it fails; so that they occasion the severest tedium to those who see and hear them, and they themselves remain most crestfallen. Sometimes, thinking thus to be witty and lively, in the presence of ladies of honour, and often even in speaking to them, they set-to at uttering most nasty and indecent words: and, the more they see them blush, so much the more do they account themselves good courtiers: and ever and anon they laugh and plume themselves at so bright a gift which they think their own. But for no purpose do they commit so many imbecilities as in order to be thought "boon companions." This is that only name which appears to them worthy of praise, and which they vaunt more than any other; and, to acquire it, they bandy the most blundering and vile blackguardisms in the world. Often will they shove one another down-stairs; knock ribs with bludgeons and bricks; throw handfuls of dust into the eyes; and bring down people's horses upon them in ditches, or on the slope of a hill. Then, at

table, soups, sauces, jellies, all do they flop in one another's face : and then they laugh ! And he who can do the most of these things accounts himself the best and most gallant courtier, and fancies he has gained great glory. And, if sometimes they invite a gentleman to these their pleasantries, and he abstains from such horse-play, forthwith they say that he makes himself too sage and grand, and is not a "boon companion." But worse remains to tell. There are some who vie and wager which of them can eat and drink the most nauseous and fetid things ; and these they hunt up so abhorrent to human senses that it is impossible to mention them without the utmost disgust.—"And what may these be?" said Signor Lodovico Pio.—Messer Federico replied : "Let the Marquis Febus [da Ceva] tell you, as he has often seen them in France ; and perhaps the thing has happened to himself."—The Marquis Febus replied : "I have seen nothing of the sort done in France that is not also done in Italy. But, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in Italian habits of dress, festivities, banqueting, fighting, and whatever else becomes a courtier, is all derived from the French."—"I deny not," answered Messer Federico, "that there are among the French also most noble and unassuming cavaliers : and I for my part have known many truly worthy of all praise. Yet some are to be found by no means well-bred : and, speaking generally, it appears to me that the Spaniards get on better in manner with the Italians than the French do ; since that calm gravity peculiar to the Spaniards seems to me much more conformable to us than the rapid liveliness which is to be recognized almost in every movement of the French race—which in them is not derogatory, and even has grace, because to themselves it is so natural and appropriate that it indicates no sort of affectation in them. There are indeed many Italians who would fain force themselves to imitate that manner ; and they can manage nothing else than jogging the head in speaking, and bowing sideways with a bad grace, and, when they are walking about, going so fast that the grooms cannot keep up with them. And with these modes they fancy they are good French people, and partake of their offhand ways : a thing indeed which seldom succeeds save with those who have been brought up in France, and have got into these habits from childhood upwards."

The reader will probably agree with me in thinking that Castiglione's own opinion is expressed here rather in the speech of Federico Fregoso than of the Marquis Febus ; and that the all-accomplished Italian patrician of the opening sixteenth century by no means regarded the French as the courteous nation *par excellence*. Elsewhere it is remarked that the French recognize nobility in arms only, and utterly despise letters and literary men ; and that presumption is a leading trait in the national character.

Castiglione does not seem to have entertained the same objection to gesturing that Francesco da Barberino did. In amusing narration or story-telling, at any rate, he approves of this accompaniment; speaking of people who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.'

The banefulness of a wicked Courtier is set forth in strong terms.

'No punishment has yet been invented horrid and tremendous enough for chastising those wicked Courtiers who direct to a bad end their elegant and pleasant manners and good breeding, and by these means creep into the good graces of their sovereigns, to corrupt them, and divert them from the path of virtue, and lead them into vice: for such people may be said to infect with mortal poison, not a vessel of which one only person has to drink, but the public fountain which the whole population uses.'

The last two authors on our list, Giovanni Battista Possevini and Giovanni della Casa, will bring us to about the middle of the sixteenth century; beyond which I do not propose to pursue the subject of Italian Courtesy-Books. We are now fairly out of the middle ages, and in the full career of transition from the old to the new. Indeed, were it not that Della Casa's work, *Il Galateo*, is so peculiarly apposite to our purpose I might have been disposed to leave both these writers aside as a trifle too modern in date: but, coming closer as that does to the exact definition of a Courtesy-Book than any other of the compositions which we have been considering, it must perforce find admission here,—and a few words may at the same time be spared to Possevini, who introduces us to a special department of manners. And first of Possevini.

This writer was (like Castiglione) a Mantuan, and died young—perhaps barely aged thirty. A famous man of letters, Paolo Giovio, found him to be 'a son of melancholy, and so learned, according to the title of Christ on the cross,[1] as to make one marvel: he is a good poet.' The book we have to deal with is of considerable size, a

[1] A noticeable proverbial phrase. It is new to me; but I suppose it means either 'learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin' (the three languages in which the inscription over the cross was written), or else perhaps 'learned in languages generally.'

Dialogue concerning Honour (*Dialogo dell' Onore*): it was published in 1553, after the author's death, which seems to have occurred towards 1550. Possevini is charged with having borrowed freely from another writer, who devoted himself to the denunciation of duelling, Antonio Bernardi; although indeed the *publication* of Bernardi's book did not take place till some years after the posthumous work of Possevini was in print. The special subject of the latter, as we have said, is honour—the quality and laws of honour, with a leading though not exclusive reference to the duelling system. Many other Italian writers of this period discussed that latter question, some upholding and some reprobating the institution. Possevini is certainly not one of its adversaries, but debates many of the ancillary points with the particularity of a casuist. The few items which I shall extract are cited more as curiosities than as fairly representing the substance of the book.

A man of letters affronted by a military man is not—so Possevini lays it down—bound to call him out, for the duel is not his vocation. If he is depreciated in his literary character, it is in writing that he should respond: if he is otherwise damnified, let him appeal to the magistrate. But this latter course is not permitted to a soldier: fighting is his business, and he must have recourse to the sword. The maxim that, in duel, one is bound either to slay one's adversary, or take him prisoner, is barbarous: it should suffice to make him recant or apologize, or to wound him, or to reduce him to surrender and humiliation.

A man who marries a professional courtesan lowers himself; yet not so far as that he can properly be refused as a duellist, or as a magistrate, or in other matters pertaining to honour. A husband who connives at his own dishonour, either by positive intention or by stupidity exceeding a certain limit, should be refused as above; not so a betrayed husband who has taken any ordinary precautions. The husband who detects his wife in adultery, without resenting it, is a dishonoured man: yet to kill her is beyond the mark,—to divorce her, contrary to canon law. He should obtain a legal abrogation of the wife's dowry, or else, as a milder course, send her back to her own people, and have no sort of knowledge of her thenceforth.

Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, created Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, was born of noble Florentine parentage on the 28th of June 1503, and died on the 14th of November 1556. He ranks as one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his century; but some of

his poems are noted for licentiousness, and are even reputed to have damaged his ecclesiastical career, and lost him a Cardinal's hat. The works thus impugned appear all to belong to his youth. He had already obtained some church-preferment, and was settled in Rome, by the year 1538. On the election of Pope Julius III., in 1550, Della Casa lived privately in the city or territory of Venice, in great state, and distinguished for courteous and charitable munificence. Paul IV., who succeeded to the papacy in 1555, recalled him to Rome, and created him Secretary of State.

The *Galateo* (written, I presume, somewhere about 1550) has always been a very famous book in Italy; and of that sort of fame which includes great general as well as literary acceptance. It is a model of strong sententious Tuscan; approaching the pedantic, yet racily idiomatic at the same time. The title in full runs *Galateo, or concerning Manners; wherein, in the Character of an Elderly Man* [*Vecchio Idiota*] *instructing a Youth, are set forth the things which ought to be observed and avoided in ordinary intercourse.* The paragraphs are numbered, and amount to 180.[1] The name *Galateo* is

[1] That most capital and characteristic book, the Autobiography of the tragedian Alfieri, contains a reference to the *Galateo*, which, longish as it is, I am tempted to extract. 'My worthy Paciaudi was wont to advise me not to neglect, amid my laborious readings, works in prose, which he learnedly termed the nurse of poetry. As regards this, I remember that one day he brought me the *Galateo* of Della Casa; recommending me to ponder it well with respect to the turn of speech, which assuredly is pure Tuscan, and the reverse of all Frenchifying. I, who in boyhood had (as we all have) read it loosely, understood it little, and relished it not at all, felt almost offended at this schoolboyish and pedantic advice. Full of venom against the said *Galateo*, I opened it. And, at the sight of that first *Conciossiacosachè*, to which is trailed-on that long sentence so pompous and so wanting in pith, such an impulse of rage seized me that, hurling the book out of window, I cried like a maniac: "Surely a hard and disgusting necessity, that, in order to write tragedies at the age of twenty-seven, I must swallow down again this childish chatter, and relax my brain with such pedantries!" He smiled at my uneducated poetic *furor;* and prophesied that I would yet read the *Galateo*, and that more than once. And so it turned out; but several years afterwards, when I had thoroughly hardened my neck and shoulders to bear the grammatical yoke. And I read not only the *Galateo*, but almost all our prose writers of the fourteenth century, and annotated them too: with what profit I cannot say. But true it is that, were any one to give them a good reading as regards their turn of phrase, and to manage availing himself with judgment and skill of their array, rejecting the cast clothes of their ideas, he might perhaps afterwards, in his writings as well philosophic as poetic or historic, or of any other class, give a richness, brevity, propriety, and force of

given to the book in consequence of a little anecdote which it introduces, apparently from real life. There was once a Bishop of Verona named Giovanni Matteo Giberti, noted for liberality. He entertained at his house a certain Count Ricciardo—a highly accomplished nobleman, but addicted (*proh pudor!*) to eating his victuals with 'an uncouth action of lips and mouth, masticating at table with a novel noise very unpleasing to hear.' The Bishop therefore deemed it the kindest thing he could do to have the Count escorted on his homeward way by a remarkably discreet, well-bred, and experienced gentleman of the episcopal household, named Galateo, who wound up a handsome compliment at parting with a plain exposition of the guest's peccadillo. His own misdoing was news to the Count: but he took the information altogether in good part, and seriously promised amendment.

Let us now dip into the *Galateo* for a few axioms; first on dining, and afterwards on other points of manners.

You must not smell at the wine-cup or the platter of any one, not even at your own; nor hand the wine which you have tasted to another, unless your very intimate friend; still less offer him any fruit at which you have bitten. Some monsters thrust their snouts, like pigs, into their broth, and never raise their eyes or hands from the victuals, and gorge rather than eat with swollen cheeks, as if they were blowing at a trumpet or a fire; and, soiling their arms almost to the elbows, make a fearful mess of their napkins.[1] And these same napkins they will use to wipe off perspiration, and even to blow their noses. You must not so soil your fingers as to make the napkin nasty in wiping them: neither clean them upon the bread which you are to eat: [we should hope not]. In company, and most especially at table, you should not bully nor beat any servants;

colour, to his style, which I have not as yet seen fully gracing any Italian writer.' A word or two may be spared to the formidable-looking vocable *Conciossiacosachè* which so excited Alfieri's bile. It might be translated literally as 'Herewith-be-something-that;' and corresponds in practice to the English 'Forasmuch as'—or more briefly 'since,' or 'as.' The Italian word *poichè* serves all the same uses, save that of longwindedness. But *Conciossiacosachè* itself is not lengthy enough for some Italian lips: and I believe that even the phrase into which it has sometimes been prolonged—'Con ciò sia cosa fosse massimamente che'—has been used for other than burlesquing purposes.

[1] The comparison whereby our Archbishop illustrates the condition of the napkins must perfume our page only in its native Italian—'Che le pezze degli agiamenti sono più nette.'

nor must you express anger, whatever may occur to excite it; nor talk of any distressful matters—wounds, illnesses, deaths, or pestilence. If any one falls into this mistake, the conversation should be dexterously changed: 'although, as I once heard said by a worthy man our neighbour, people often would be as much eased by crying as by laughing. And he affirmed that with this motive had the mournful fictions termed tragedies been first invented: so that, being set forth in theatres, as was then the practice, they might bring tears to the eyes of those who had need of this, and thus they, weeping, might be cured of their discomfort. But, be this as it may, for us it is not befitting to sadden the minds of those with whom we converse, especially on occasions when people have met for refreshment and recreation, and not to cry: and, if any one languishes with a longing to weep, right easy will it be to relieve him with strong mustard, or to set him somewhere over the smoke.' You should not scratch yourself at table, nor spit; or, if spit you must, do it in a seemly way. Some nations have been so self-controlling as not to spit at all.[1] 'We must also beware of eating so greedily that hence comes hiccupping or other disagreeable act; as he does who hurries so that he has to puff and blow, to the annoyance of the whole company.' Rub not your teeth with the napkin—still less with your fingers: nor rinse out your mouth, nor spit forth wine. 'Nor, on rising from table, is it a nice habit to carry your toothpick[2] in your mouth, like a bird which is in nest-building,—or behind the ear, like a barber.' You must not hang the toothpick round your neck: it shows that you are 'overmuch prepared and provided for the service of the gullet,' and you might as well hang your spoon in the same way. Neither must you loll on the table; nor by gesture or sound symbolize your great relish of viands or wine—a habit fit only for tavern-keepers and topers. Also you should not put people out of countenance by pressing them to eat or drink.

'To present to another something from the plate before oneself does not seem to me well, unless he who presents is of much the

[1] This is affirmed by Xenophon of the Persians: he says in the *Cyropædia* that, both of old and in his own time, they did without either spitting or blowing the nose—a proof of temperance, and of energetic exercise which carried off the moisture of the body.

[2] *Stecco.* 'Toothpick' is the only appropriate technical sense for stecco given in the dictionaries; and I suppose it is correct here, although Della Casa's very next sentence, denouncing the carrying of this implement round the neck, designates it by the word *stuzzicadenti*, and it seems odd that the two terms should be thus juxta-posed or opposed. If *stecco* does not in this passage really mean 'toothpick,' I should infer that it indicates some skewer-like object, used possibly as a fork—i. e. to secure the viands on the plate, while they are severed with a spoon, and by that conveyed to the mouth (see pp. 21 and 34 as to the use of spoon instead of fork in Bonvicino's time). This would in fact be a sort of chop-stick. Such an inference is quite compatible with the *general* sense of the word *stecco*—any stake or splint of wood.

higher grade, so that the recipient is thereby honoured. For, among equals in condition, it looks as if he who offers the gift were setting himself up somehow as the superior: and sometimes that which a man gives is not to the taste of him it is given to. Besides, it implies that the dinner has no abundance of dishes, or is not well distributed, when one has too much, and another too little: and the master of the house might take it as an affront. However, in this one should do as others do, and not as it might be best to do in the abstract: and in such fashions it is better to err along with others than to be alone in well-doing. But, whatever may be the best course in this, you must not refuse what is offered you; for it would seem as if you slighted or reproved the donor.'

For one man to pledge another in the wine-cup is not an Italian usage, nor yet rightly nationalized, and should be avoided. Decline such an invitation; or confess yourself the worse drinker, and give but one sip to your wine. 'Thank God, among the many pests which have come to us from beyond the mountains, this vilest one has not yet reached us, of regarding drunkenness as not merely a laughing-matter, but even a merit.' The only time when you should wash hands in company is before going to table: you should do it then even though your hands be quite clean, 'so that he who dips with you into the same platter may know that for certain.'

Well-bred servitors, serving at table, must on no account scratch their heads or any other part of the body, nor thrust their hands anywhere under their clothes out of sight, but keep them 'visible and beyond all suspicion,' and scrupulously clean. Those who hand about plates or cups must abstain from spitting or coughing, and most especially from sneezing. If a pear or bread has been set to toast, the attendant must not blow off any ash-dust, but jog or otherwise nick it off. He must not offer his pocket-handkerchief to any one, though it be clean from the wash; for the person to whom it is offered has no assurance of that fact, and may find it distasteful. The usher must not take it upon himself to invite strangers, or to retain them to dine with his lord: if he does so, no one who knows his place will act on the invitation.

Scraping the teeth together, whistling, screaming, grinding stones, and rubbing iron, are grievous noises: and a man who has a bad voice should eschew singing, especially a solo. Coughing and sneezing must not be done loud. 'And there is also to be found such a person as, in yawning, will howl and bray like an ass; and another who, with his mouth still agape, *will* go on with his talk, and emits that voice, or rather that noise, which a mute produces when he tries to speak.' Indeed, much yawning should be altogether avoided: it shows that your company does not amuse you, and that you are in a vacant mood. 'And thus, when a man yawns among others who are idle and unoccupied, all they, as you may often have observed, yawn forthwith in response; as if the man had recalled to

their memory the thing which they would have done before, if only they had recollected it.' Other acts discourteous to the company you are in are—to fall asleep; to pace about the room, while others are seated in conversation; to take a letter out of your pouch, and read it; to set about paring your nails; or to hum between your teeth, play the devil's tattoo, or swing your legs. Also you must not nudge a man with your elbow in talking to him. Let us have no showing of tongue, nor overmuch stroking of beard, nor rubbing-together of hands, nor heaving of long-drawn sighs, nor shaking oneself up with a start, nor stretching, and singing-out of 'Dear me!'

Having used your pocket-handkerchief, don't open it out to inspect it.

'They are in the wrong whose mouths are always full of their babies, and their wife, and their nurse. "My little boy yesterday made me laugh so—only hear." "You never saw a sweeter child than my Momus." "My wife is so-and-so." "Said Cecchina:[1] and could you ever believe it of such a scatterbrain?" There is no man so unoccupied that he can either reply or attend to such nonsense: and the speaker becomes a nuisance to everybody.'

In walking, you should not indulge in too much action, as by sawing with your arms; nor should you stare other passers-by in the face, as if there were some marvel there.

'Now what shall I say of those who issue from the desk into company with a pen behind the ear? or those who hold a handkerchief in the mouth? or who lay one leg along the table? or who spit on their fingers?'

Some people offend by affected humility, which is indeed a practical lying. 'With these the company has a bad bargain whenever they come to a door; for they will for no consideration in the world pass on first, but they step across, and return back,—and so fence and resist with hands and arms that at every third step it becomes necessary to battle with them, and this destroys all peace and comfort, and sometimes the business which is in hand.'

This last caveat leads on the author to a passage of importance regarding ceremoniousness in general; from which we learn that that extreme of etiquette was still almost an innovation in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and contrary to the national bias. This may surprise some readers; for certainly the courteous Italian of the later period, for all his characteristic 'naturalness,' has not been wanting in ceremony, and the elaboration of politeness of phrase in his writing is something observable—at least to Englishmen, the

[1] Cecchina is a double diminutive of Francesca; corresponding to 'Fannikin' or 'Fan.'

least ceremonious nation, I suppose, under heaven (and that is by no means a term of disparagement). I subjoin the passage from Della Casa, not a little condensed; followed by another, still more abridged, concerning the essence and right of elegant manners.

'And therefore ceremonies (which we name, as you hear, by a foreign word, as not having one of our own—which shows that our ancestors knew them not, so that they could not give them any name) —ceremonies, I say, differ little, to my thinking, from lies and dreams, on account of their emptiness. As a worthy man has more than once shown me, those solemnities which the clergy use in relation to altars and the divine offices, and towards God and sacred things, are properly called "ceremonies." But, as soon as men began to reverence one the other with artificial fashions beyond what is fitting, and to call each other "master" and "lord," bowing and cringeing and bending in sign of reverence, and uncovering, and naming one another by far-sought titles, and kissing hands, as if theirs were sacred like those of priests,—somebody, as this new and silly usage had as yet no name, termed it "ceremoniousness": I think, by way of ridicule. Which usage, beyond a doubt, is not native to us but foreign and barbarous, and imported, whencesoever it be, only of late into Italy,—which, unhappy, abased, and spiritless in her doings and influence, has grown and gloried only in vain words and superfluous titles. Ceremonies, then,—if we refer to the intention of those who practise them—are a vain indication of honour and reverence towards the person to whom they are addressed, set forth in words and shows, and concerned with titles and proffers. I say "vain" in so far as we honour in seeming those whom we hold in no reverence, and do sometimes despise. And yet, that we may not depart from the customs of others, we term them "Illustrissimo Signor" so-and-so, and "Eccellentissimo Signor" such-a-one: and in like wise we sometimes profess ourselves "most devoted servants" to some one whom we would rather dis-serve than serve. This usage, however, it is not for us individually to change—nay, we are compelled (as it is not our own fault, but that of the time) to second it; but this has to be done with discretion. Wherefore it is to be considered that ceremonies are practised either for profit, or for vanity, or by obligation. And every lie which is uttered for our own profit is a fraud and sin and a dishonest thing (as indeed one cannot in any sort of case lie with honour): and this sin do flatterers commit. And, if ceremonies are, as we said, lies and false flatteries, whenever we practise them with a view to gain we act like false and bad men: wherefore, with that view, no ceremony ought to be practised. Those which are practised by obligation must in no wise be omitted; for he who omits them is not only disliked but injurious. And thus he who addresses a single person as "*You*" (if it is not a person of the very lowest condition)

does him no favour: nay, were he to say "*Thou*," he would derogate from his due, and act insultingly and injuriously, naming him by the word which is usually reserved for poltroons and clodhoppers. And these I call "ceremonies of obligation": since they do not proceed from our own will, nor freely of our own choice, but are imposed upon us by the law—that is, by common usage. And he who is wont to be termed "Signore" by others, and himself in like manner to address others as "Signore," assumes that you contemn him or speak affrontingly when you call him simply by his name, or speak to him as "Messere," or blurt out a "*You*."[1] However, in these ceremonies of obligation, certain points should be observed, so that one may not seem either vain or haughty. And first, one should have regard to the country one lives in; for every usage is not apposite in every country. And perhaps that which is adopted by the Neapolitans, whose city abounds in men of great lineage, and in barons of lofty station, would not suit the Lucchese or Florentines, who for the most part are merchants and simply gentlemen, having among them neither princes nor marquises nor any baron. Besides this, regard must be paid to the occasion, to the age and condition of the person towards whom we practise ceremony, and to our own; and, with busy people, one should cut them off altogether, or at any rate shorten them as much as one can, and rather imply than express them: which the courtiers in Rome are very expert in. Neither are men of great virtue and excellence in the habit of practising many; nor do they like or seek that many be practised towards them, not being minded to waste much thought over futilities. Nor yet should artisans and persons of low condition care to practise very elaborate ceremonies towards great men and lords: for these rather than otherwise dislike such demonstrations at their hands—for their way is to seek and expect obedience more than civilities. And thus the servant who proffers his service to his master makes a mistake: for the master takes it amiss, and esteems that the servant wants to call in question his mastership,—as if his right were not to dictate and command. If you show a little suitable abundance of politeness to those who are your inferiors, you will be called courteous. And, if you do the same to your superiors, you will be termed well-bred and agreeable. But he who should in this matter be excessive and profuse would be blamed as vain and frivolous; and perhaps even worse would befall him, for he might be held evil and sycophantic. And this is the third kind of ceremonies, which does indeed proceed from our will, and not from usage. Let us then recollect that ceremonies (as I said from the first) were naturally not necessary,—on the contrary, people

[1] The English reader may fancy that this passage conflicts with that which immediately precedes: but such is not the case. In the earlier passage, the use of *You* was recommended as more civil than *Thou*: in the later passage, the use of *Vossignoria* (or other the like impersonal term, where appropriate) as more respectful than *You*.

got on perfectly well without them: as our own nation, not long ago, did almost wholly. But the illnesses of others have infected us also with this and many other infirmities. For which reasons, when we have submitted to usage, all the residue in this matter that is superfluous is a kind of licit lying: or rather, from that point onwards, not licit but forbidden—and therefore a displeasing and tedious thing to noble souls, which will not live on baubles and appearances. Vain and elaborate and superabundant ceremonies are flatteries but little covert, and indeed open and recognized by all. But there is another sort of ceremonious persons who make an art and trade of this, and keep book and document of it. To such a class of persons, a giggle; and to such another, a smile. And the more noble shall sit upon the chair, and the less noble upon the settle. Which ceremonies I think were imported from Spain into Italy. But our country has given them a poor reception, and they have taken little root here; for this so punctilious distinction of nobility is a vexation to us:[1] and therefore no one ought to set himself up as judge, to decide who is more noble, and who less so.—To speak generally, ceremoniousness annoys most men; because by it people are prevented from living in their own way—that is, prevented from liberty, which every man desires before all things else.'

'Agreeable manners are those which afford delight, or at least do not produce any vexation, to the feelings, appetite, or imagination, of those with whom we have to do. A man should not be content with doing that which is right, but should also study to do it with grace. And grace [*leggiadria*] is as it were a light which shines from the fittingness of things that are well composed and well assorted the one with the other, and all of them together; without which measure even the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasurable. Therefore well-bred persons should have regard to this measure, both in walking, standing, and sitting, in gesture, demeanour, and clothing, in words and in silence, and in rest and in action.'

Besides the *Galateo*, Monsignor della Casa has left another and shorter *Tractate on Amicable Intercourse between Superiors and Inferiors* (*Trattato degli Uffici Comuni tra gli Amici Superiori e Inferiori*). This deals not so much with the relation between those who are rich and those who are poor in the gifts of fortune, taken simply on that footing, as with the connection between

[1] This is, I think, still a national trait among Italians, and a most creditable one: the endless grades and sub-grades, shades and demi-shades, of good society, as maintained in England (with an instinct comparable to the marvellous power of a bat to wing its dark way amid any number of impediments, and to be impeded by none of them), are unintelligible to ordinary Italians—or, where intelligible, detestable. Long may they remain so!

master and servant, patron and client, magnate and dependent. The tone is grave and humane, with an adequate share of worldly wisdom interspersed. The opening is interesting and suggestive; and shows that the great 'Servant Controversy,' of which the pages of English daily newspapers are now almost annually conscious in the dull season, was by no means unknown to Italy in the sixteenth century:—

'I apprehend that the ancients were free from a great and continual trouble; having their households composed, not of free men, as is our usage, but of slaves, of whose labour they availed themselves, both for the comforts of life, and to maintain their repute, and for the other demands of society. For, as the nature of man is noble, copious, and erect, and far more apt to commanding than obeying, a hard and odious task do those undertake who assume to exercise masterdom over it, while still bold and of undiminished strength, as is done now-a-days. To the ancients, in my judgment, it was no difficult or troublesome thing to command those who were already quelled and almost domesticated—people whom either chains, or long fatigues, or a soul servile from very childhood, had bereaved of pride and force. We on the contrary have to do with souls robust, spirited, and almost unbending; which, through the vigour of their nature, refuse and hate to be in subjection, and, knowing themselves free, resist their masters, or at least seek and demand (often with reason, but sometimes also without) that in commanding them some measure be observed. Whence it arises that every house is full of complaints, wranglings, and questionings. And certainly this is the fact; because we are unjust judges in our own cause,—and, as it is true that everybody unfairly prizes his own affairs higher than those of others, albeit of equal value, and consequently always persuades himself that he has given more than he has received, the thing cannot go on *pari passu*. Hence comes the wearisome complaint of the one, "I have worn myself out in your house;" and the rebuke of the other, "I have maintained and fed you, and treated you well."'

I can afford only one more extract from this treatise; which indeed handles its general subject-matter more on the ground of fairness, good-feeling, and expedient compromise of conflicting claims, than as a question of courtesy—though neither is that left out of view.

'In giving orders and assigning duties which have to be fulfilled, let regard be paid to the condition of the individuals; so that, if anything uncleanly is to be done, that be allotted to the lowest, and it come not to pass (as some perverse-natured people will have

it) that noblemen[1] should sweep the house, and carry slops out of the chambers. Let not things of much labour be committed to the weak, nor the degrading to the well-mannered, nor the frivolous and sportful to the aged. Moreover let the masters be heedful not to impose upon any one anything of uncommon difficulty or labour or painstaking, unless of necessity or for some great cause; for the laws of humanity command us not to make a call upon a man's diligence and solicitude beyond what is reasonable, or as if in levity—especially if it exceeds the ordinary bounds.'

With this I shut up Della Casa's volume, and take final leave of my reader—trusting that, after perusing, skimming, or skipping, so much matter concerning Courtesy, he will part from me on the terms of (at lowest) a 'courteous reader,' in more than the merely conventional sense.

[1] *Nobili.* I presume this is to be understood literally; the household in which noblemen could be thus employed being of course one of exalted position.

EARLY

GERMAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Italian Guest by Thomasin von Zirclaria,

OF

'HOW THE KNIGHT OF WINSBEKE TAUGHT HIS SON,
AND THE LADY OF WINSBEKE HER DAUGHTER,'

The German Cato,

AND

Tannhaeuser's Courtly Breeding,

BY

EUGENE OSWALD.

In the German literature of the 13th century, Thomasin of Zerklaere, or, in the Italian form of his name, Tommasino di Circlaria, occupies a distinguished position. This position is due not only to the fact that his writing, addressed in purest German and in a loving spirit by an Italian poet to a German public, forms a refreshing link between two nations otherwise much and long divided (though this fact in itself is remarkable enough), but also for the intrinsic value of that one of his works which we still possess. This work, by the peculiar tone of his mind, introduces a striking element of variety into a rich but (without him and Walther von der Vogelweide) somewhat one-sided period of literature. He exercised by his own work and that of his successors, a healthy influence which, though not generally acknowledged, continued down towards the age of Reformation. Finally, his principal and well-preserved poem affords us a full revelation of an individuality clearly marked, thoroughly sound, wise, and enlightened, gentle in strength, whose words we can hardly read without loving him who uttered them.

Thomasin wrote two works, at least; for to the present writer there seem to be indications of his having written others beside the two which are mentioned by literary historians and critics.

The first of these was a Treatise on Courtesy. Unfortunately it is lost, but we have direct evidence of its production and contents by the mention the author makes of it in his larger work, in which he reproduces, in translation, one portion of his earlier writing, and summarizes others. We say in translation, for that lost work was not written in German. It is not so certain what the language was in which it was produced. The author himself says it was written

in *welhische* (the modern German *wälsch*).[1] This exceedingly elastic word, for which we see no equivalent in English, and which designates equally people and things, of Romance speech or Celtic origin, from the mountains of the principality to the plains of the lower Danube, from the Ardennes to the Alps, and from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, may indeed be translated by *Italian*, and this, apparently, recommends itself by the fact of the author being introduced to us, by Mr Rossetti,[2] and others, as an Italian. Thus Professor Max Müller has also translated the name of Thomasin's greater work, *der welhische Gast*, by '*the Italian Guest*,' a translation we do not wish to disturb.[3] But on the other hand, the Editor of Thomasin, Heinrich Rückert, translates in this connection, the word *welhische* without hesitation by North-French. Striking as this difference may appear at first sight, and Professor Rückert states no reasons for his rendering, there seems to us, on second consideration, good ground for it. For the *langue d'oyl* had towards the second half of the 12th century become a fashionable tongue, and by it had been chiefly promulgated those romances of King Arthur and the Round Table which then filled the imagination of the poets of Christendom, and with which Thomasin was well acquainted; King Richard Cœur de Lion was familiar with it and had perhaps written in it, as well as in the *langue d'oc*, and Thomasin, at one time, was at the court of Richard's cousin and companion in arms, Otto of Brunswick; moreover he tells us that he knew *welhisch*, which, if the word here meant Italian, was hardly necessary or likely to be mentioned, it being a matter of course (unless indeed he should have meant to imply, which seems to us possible, but not probable, that, beside his local dialect, he knew another and purer one: with respect to which supposition we must not forget that the Tuscan

[1] alsô ich hân hie vor geseit
an mîm buoch von der hüfscheit
daz ich welhschen hân gemacht.—V. 1173-75.

and:

er mac hœren manic lêre
die ich wider die valscheit
in welhscher zunge hân geseit.—V. 1552-54.

[2] V. above, pt. 2, pp. 5, 30.

[3] In the catalogue of the Vatican library, which for a long time possessed the best MS., the book was entered as Hospes Italicus, seu Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis. *Adelung*, Nachrichten, p. 22.

dialect had not then arrived at that dignity and lustre which was afterwards conferred on it). Again, Thomasin himself in one instance at least, V. 94, uses the word *welhische* with reference to North-French writings. Finally, if not the *langue d'oyl*, at any rate the *langue d'oc*[1] had been frequently employed by Italian writers; and it was only in Thomasin's days, and chiefly at the Court of Frederic II. at Naples, that the Italian tongue was employed for literary composition, mostly, we are told (for the present writer has no direct knowledge of this part of the question) in love-poetry imitating the manner of the Provençal troubadours,[2] and rarely in sacred poetry. If then Thomasin's lost work were written in Italian, it would be one of the earliest works in that language, and it is perhaps not probable that a subject like the one under consideration would be produced in first attempts to use the vernacular for literary purposes, whilst in the *langue d'oyl*, which already had a literature of comparatively long standing, such a work would easily fall in with the current of literary production. Thus the probability seems to us that the work was written not in Italian, but in the *langue d'oyl*.[3]

[1] We may just mention that *Eschenburg*, Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtung, while rejecting Italian as the language meant by *welhisch*, inclines to the belief that the *langue d'oc* was meant. Yet he does so, not by eliminating the probabilities for the *langue d'oyl*, but by never entertaining or stating the possibility, or let us say by ignoring, for the moment, the existence of that language. More recent writers have not followed him.

V. 94 seems to us nearly conclusive in favour of the *langue d'oyl*, in this case, as against the *langue d'oc*. The author speaks there of adaptations, gladly received in Germany, of books taken from the *welhsche:* this seems plainly to refer to the imitations from Chrêtien de Troyes, and other romantic poets. Welisch often stands where French is evidently meant. So Püterich, stanza 102.

Sam hat auch Lancilot von Säbenhoven
Aus Welisch Vlrich gedichtet.

[2] Comp. on the beginnings of an Italian literature, Ruth, Geschichte der italienischen Poesie. Leipzig, 1844; Th. i. p. 176—247. And Hallam, Middle Ages, chap. ix. part ii. Yet the early date of Thomasin need not militate against his having written in Italian. Frederic II., his sons Enzio and Manfred, his chancellor Pier delle Vigne, wrote in the first third of the century. Ciullo of Alcamo, the oldest Sicilian singer, seems to have belonged to that time (before 1193; as he speaks of Saladin as living), Folcachiero, the oldest Florentine poet to have flourished about 1200, Mico di Siena a few years afterwards, Guido Guinizzelli of Bologna, about 1220. Still these writers belong to great centres very different from Friuli, and their productions seem very far from being on so large a plan as Thomasin's.

[3] After writing this we applied to Professor Rückert at Breslau, the editor

The second work of Thomasin is the *wälsche Gast*, already mentioned. It is a long didactic poem, or at any rate a metrical performance of nearly fifteen thousand lines, quite finished by the author, which is note-worthy in a period abounding in unfinished productions, in works of vast plan, for which the authors had not breath enough; it possesses a certain unity which equally distinguishes it from many of the productions of his contemporaries, who began somewhere, not knowing whither they were going, and rambled on till they came to an end, though not to a conclusion; and it is in an almost complete state of preservation, having been handed down to us in many MSS., though edited for the first time but recently. It is a treatise, of a strongly exhortatory character, on the intellectual and moral life of man; the physical part of his nature being neglected, which in a similar work in our days would have justly demanded a great space both as to the preservation and development of our faculties. Of this book it has become our task "to give an account, and to translate the courtesy part of it." But first as to the individuality of the author, of his life and character, for which, however, in the absence of any biography, we are almost reduced to the scanty hints the poem gives and to such combinations as they allow us.

Thomasin van Zerclaere[1] was born about the year 1185, in the Friuli. The place he himself gives us;[2] the date we obtain in this manner. Speaking of that taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens which occasioned the third crusade, that of Richard Cœur de Lion, he says it is about thirty years since we lost it:

of Thomasin, in order to arrive, if possible, at more complete clearness on this point. His courteous answer, in letter d.d. Gnadenfrei, Silesia, Sept. 10, confirms his view, strengthening it chiefly by the consent of others, and by the then ordinary use of the word *walhisch*, which is to be taken as meaning simply one of Romance language, and is only specified, if necessary, by the addition of the particular home of the individual, viz. *walhisch* from Lombardy, &c. But this would not seem to prove that the '*welhisch*' *could* not have been used here to mean the then existing Italian; Müller and Zarncke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian, vol. iii. p. 467; and all things well considered, we prefer to leave the passage as it stands, inclined as we are to accept Professor Rückert's view, but expressing it in that more guarded manner which seems fitting where no direct and irrefragable evidence is forthcoming.

[1] Ich heiz Thomasîn von Zerclaere, v. 75.

[2] Ich bin von Frîûle geborn, v. 71.

ez sint wol zweir min drîzec[1] jâr dez wirs verlurn.[2]

that is, it is 30 years less 2 = 28 years; and in another passage he mentions that, at the time of writing his poem, he was about 30 years of age,[3] and the whole poem was rapidly written, the first eight cantos in as many months. Thus, 1187 being known for the taking of Jerusalem, we obtain 1215 as the date of the poem, and reckoning back again, 1185 as the year of the author's birth.

As to the name, it seems to point to a family of noble birth, though not of very exalted standing. And here we get the only glimmer from outside the book itself. The author himself, though communicative enough, is silent on his family relations, and perhaps, it seems to us, not unintentionally. Who were his father and mother does not appear. But the family name has been found four times[4] in documents, nearly contemporary with the poem, and a Bernardus de Circlaria, who appears as a witness to a contract, in the years 1186 and 1188, was perhaps the father, or an uncle, of our author. The nature of the documents[5] seems to show that he, as well as the two other witnesses mentioned, owed feudal service to the Patriarch of Aquileja, and were perhaps his employés in the secular affairs of the see.[6] But, scarcely have we had time to rejoice at so much, or even so little, tangible information, when we are met by the difficulty of explaining the family-name. "Of Zerclaere" is plainly a patronymic

[1] Duo de triginta. [2] V. 11717-18; 30 — 2 = 28.

[3] Ich bin niht alt drîzec jâr, v. 2445.
In aht mânôden hân ich gar
diu aht teil ûz gemachet, v. 12278-79.

[4] By Karajan, J. de Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. v. p. 241-42, referring to Joh. Franc Bernardi Mariae de Rubeis, Monumenta ecclesiæ Aquilensis. Argentinae (Venice) 170 et seq., s. 632 C., 633 C., 634 D. And again to Ughelli, Italia sacra, 5, 77.

The present Editor has not been able to verify these quotations, the particular work of Ughelli not being in the British Museum, whilst of that of Rubeis, only a few and, to us, irrelevant chapters are accessible, contained in S. Chromati Script. Utini. 1816.

[5] They are called de Glemona and Perchtenstein, and distinctly designated, Rubeis, s. 598 A., as employés of the Patriarch. The German name of the second gives some slight support to our theory, as showing the employment of Germans or men of German origin in these border-lands.

[6] Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil. Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.

of local origin ; but there is no place called Circlaria to be found in that Friuli where Thomasin was born, and where Bernard lived.[1] The suggestion has been made,[2] and immediately rejected, to connect the name with Zirklach, a place in Carniola (Krain). Now we are inclined to take up again this supposition, and believe it to be pregnant with the explanation of much in the poem which requires explanation and has not received it. Our theory is that Circlaria or Zerclaere, which latter is Thomasin's version, the former that of the latinizing notary, is a corruption of the German Zirklach,[3] and that the author, though born in Friuli, was descended, in the first or second degree, from a German family from Krain or Carniola, who had immigrated into the Friul.

He says indeed that he is a thorough Italian, or at least Welhisch,[4] and apologizes for his shortcomings in German. But the former may be quite an ordinary and legitimate expression for one born of an Italian mother in Italy, though her husband were a German, or for the grandson of Italianized Germans ; and the shortcomings are indeed so small that the author's great familiarity and sympathy with German much more require an explanation than his rare insufficiencies, while his speech has at the same time not unfrequently a provincial character which points quite unmistakably to the Duchy of Austria and to Carinthia or Styria. Yet his knowledge evidently flows healthily and about equally from two sources—literary study and conversational opportunity. And the latter must have been more than that which frequency of talk with strangers or acquaintances affords : such intimate knowledge as his is not acquired unless the heart undertake a part of the teaching. At first we were inclined

[1] Thus the German writers, especially Karajan at Vienna ; the maps confirm them. But our Italian friends furnish us with the information, that in the 14th century, an estate called Cerclaria existed near Cividale.—' Prope Civitatem Austriæ erant bona in loco appellato Cerclaria, ut in documento anni 1335, 6 Nov., ut in actis Stephani Condelarii, notarii de Civitate.'

[2] Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.

[3] The name appears in the MSS. in the following variations : Zerclaere,—Zerclar,—Zirklere,—Tirklere,—Tirkler Claer,—Verrere (Ferrara), the last of these in a quite recent copy, which was only made in the 18th century, and to which no authority attaches. Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.—To this add : Thomasin von Cläer, in Püterich von Reicherzhausen, 15th century, quoted further on.

[4] 69. Wan ich vil gar ein walich bin.

to suppose him to have been married to a German lady, and to have written this poem in the retirement of an early widowerhood.[1] To such a bereavement the gravity and mellowness of his thoughts and feelings may point, together with the fact that the retirement in which he wrote it[2] was not an habitual mood of life with him, that on its conclusion he reckoned upon returning to the gaieties of the world which he had formerly shared,[3] that it occupied about a year,[4] a period on which he strongly insists as the right period of mourning after the loss of husband or wife,[5] and which he might well wish to fill up with this consoling and absorbing business of his ten lay-sermons, for so they may be called. Nor need this hypothesis be necessarily abandoned in favour of that of his distant German descent: the grandson of a German family, born in Italy, he may have returned to the home of his fathers, there to wed a German wife.

In all this inquiry it is right to bear in mind that we have not to do with countries far distant from each other, that Krain and Friuli are border-lands, where Italian, German, and Slaave elements are greatly mingled, partly in juxtaposition, and that part of Friuli only is Italian, while another part, still Austrian, has belonged to the Empire not only, but to Germany, from Otho I., at least, to the disruption of Germany by the war of 1866.

Those shortcomings in language just alluded to, and which in a general way he declares himself conscious of, are, we may say this in

[1] Leaving him, perhaps, with a son; v. 12660-63. But the passage is not conclusive.—That, at the time of writing the 'Italian Guest,' he was not married, is certain from v. 4097: "*ob ich ein wîp haben solde.*"

[2] Dô du mit rîtern und mit vrouwen
Phlaege buhurt und tanz schouwen,
Dô was ich harte gern bî dir:
Wan dô, geloubestu ouch mir,
Do du woldest ze hove sîn
Unter den liuten, dô was mîn
Geloube daz ich wære baz
Bî dir dan inder, wizze daz.—V. 12241-48.

[3] Mich luste harte wol ze schouwen
Beidiu rîter unde vrouwen,
Doch dunket mich daz baz getân
Daz ich mich ir ein wîle ân.—V. 12319-22.

[4] V. 12278-82. [5] V. 5605-26.

passing, to us moderns by no means considerable.[1] Many of them an unguided modern ear would not even detect. They are so inconsiderable, that one of the first modern writers who occupied himself with Thomasin inclined to the belief that the writer was purely a German who, for reasons of his own, assumed the characters of a foreigner, as a *nom de plume* may be assumed.[2] They consist, for the greater part, in deficiencies of ear as to rhyming, and in occasionally doubtful accents as to rhythm. Thomasin's contemporaries had arrived at a surprising, perhaps at a pedantic, exactness as to their rhymes, which is far from having descended to Schiller and Goethe, who can hardly lay claim to greater purity than Thomasin. Besides this, by us very pardonable, want of delicacy in hearing, a few instances occur where our author uses a word drawn from the Italian, which, however, may very well have already belonged to that South-German dialect that surrounded him, and need not have been introduced by him, who starts with the intention not to "streak with foreign words his German speech,"[3] an intention he very laudably carries out, and wherein the immense majority of later German writers have not followed him.

In one or two instances a technical or political term occurs to him more readily in Italian than in German;[4] and in one instance he naïvely confesses that he does not know the German for a shrub of which he has got something to say.[5]

These two latter details seem to us to support the theory that his education and early impressions belong to Italy, and that when he wrote his great work, he was in Germany—a fact otherwise patent, and far from those who might have furnished him with the necessary translation.

He evidently had the best education which his age could afford. He was not an ecclesiastic when he wrote the Italian Guest, though,

[1] V. 55-70. Wise people, he thinks, will not mind them; and again: v. 1684-86.

[2] Eschenburg, Denkmäler, p. 114-44.

[3] V. 35-42.

[4] V. 845.—*Potestât* = mayoralty = podestaria. Vide also *tempern*, for *to cut*, as applied to the penknife, the Italian *temperino*; v. 12232.

[5] Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht genennen tiusche, v. 14086, *et seq.* He means the Oleander (*Nerium Oleander*, L.).

from what we know of his reading, it is not impossible that he entered on the career of one, and, for reasons unknown to us, left it. Ecclesiastical influences had surrounded him at some time in his life, as was natural enough if that Bernardus de Circlaria whom we have mentioned as connected with the Patriarch of Aquileja, was really his father or uncle. His later education may have lain more in the direction of the Law Schools.[1] He had for his time a respectable knowledge of physics and astronomy. Whether his university was Bologna or Padua will remain undecided, but it was probably one of the two.[2] In riper years he was conscious, as many an other man[3] has been since, that he might have worked harder when at college. But his reading was extensive and varied. The philosophers Seneca and Boethius are the ancient authors who have left the strongest traces on his mind. With Horace, too, he was familiar, but to him Thomasin's graver mind reverts less frequently. Among the fathers, Tertullian and St Augustine were read by him; among the Latin authors of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great—the only one whom he cites directly,—John of Salisbury, Petrus Alphonsus,[4] Isidor of Sevilla,[5] and especially Hildebert of Tours (1057—1134) made the greatest impression on him. His reading was not empty book-learning, it entered the flesh and blood of his mind, and when he quotes, it is not by taking a volume from the shelf of a library, as we must, but from the stores of his memory, which served him as a commonplace book,—a memory which must have been excellent, and played him no evil trick, though his quotations are not textual. It is worth while to say that they have been verified, with very great pains, by his German editor, H. Rückert.

With the romantic literature of his time he was well acquainted, and in a passage, hereafter to be referred to again, he seems to allude to the titles of several romances which to us are lost. He not un-

[1] V. 2285-420. [2] Rückert, Vorwort, p. xi.

[3] Says the pen to the author:

Dô du dâ ze schuole wære
Dô muotestu mich niht sô hart. v. 12256-57.

[4] Petrus Alphonsus, a Jew, baptized in 1106, 44 years of age, wrote Dialogi XII. contra Judæos, Disciplina clericorum.

[5] Isidor of Sevilla (Sententiarum libri tres), p. 636.

frequently uses the names of the chief characters of them in illustrations; he would be certain in this to tread on ground familiar to his readers—for such he expects to find, not hearers only, like some of his contemporaries who looked to the recital or singing of their pieces rather than to their being companions of solitude. But while in his youth, when he wrote the Courtesy book to please a lady,[1] he probably enjoyed those adventurous tales with a naïve pleasure; at the time when his graver mind produced the Italian Guest, they appeared to him insufficient and somewhat empty, plays of the fancy chiefly, not always without a deeper hidden meaning, yet on the whole like in a book the pictures which might amuse the younger or more untutored mind, while the reading of the text was reserved for the riper and chastened intellect. And thus he finds himself in opposition, nowhere sharply expressed, yet not the less decided, to those knightly romances; and though the form of his book be in no way similar to Don Quixote, yet its tendency and its action on contemporary literature is somewhat like that of Cervantes. True, the production of poems of knightly adventure went on, and several of the principal of those books, proceeding from and destined for a limited circle in the nation, were written after Thomasin uttered his appeal from Romance to Real life, from the Ideal of a Class to the Ideal of Man; but still he is at the head of that movement of reaction in which he was immediately followed by the author of *Frîdanc*,[2] and which finally overcame the knightly romance, and continued till towards the Reformation the way for which it distantly prepared. And thus, whatever may justly be urged against directly didactic poetry, the value of Thomasin's services in the cause of a clearer perception of Human Life must be estimated very highly.

As to the lyrical poets of the age, he is once polemical against Walther von der Vogelweide, who, though favourable to a new crusade, objected to the collections for the papal treasury made on that occasion, whilst Thomasin admitted of no critical restrictions in his zeal for the struggle to regain the Holy Land,—a struggle which, to

[1] Ich tet ez einer vrouwen ze êre,
Diu bat mich der selben lêre.—V. 1555-56.

[2] Vide Max Müller, German Classics, p. xvii. and 119-24.

his mind, presented itself as indissolubly connected with the papal authority, and with respect to which a mere maker of love-songs was at least to be suspected of lukewarmness, and of being little qualified to give counsel. "For the poet," he says,—

"For the poet again it is not seemly
To be a liar,
Since both he and the preacher
Are to support Truth.
A certain man might (now)
With one word do more good to Christendom
Than he can do it ever after.
Methinks that all his singing
Both in short measure and in long,
Cannot have pleased God so much
As that one thing must displease him,
Since he hath befooled thousands
So that they have paid no heed
To God's and the Pope's command."

Walther is not mentioned; but the passage evidently relates to him whose partial opposition might easily lead men further away than he intended from the undertaking which he himself seems to have had at heart perhaps as much as Thomasin. Somewhat later he even set out personally on a Crusade, though he did not reach the Holy Land. But he clung to the Imperial authority as opposed to the Papal. And Thomasin was a Guelph. The two poets probably met personally, when Walther visited the court of the Patriarch of Aquileja.[1] But then, as now, it was difficult for men of opposite camps, especially if difference of temper and tastes were added, to understand each other, and find out what common ground might be possessed by both.

This, however, is the only passage in which some bitterness mixes

[1] "Nel secolo stesso (XIII) frequentò la corte del Patriarca d'Aquileja Volftero di Leubrechtkirchen (1204-1218) il minnesinger tedesco Walter von der Vogelweide." From notes, the result of researches, made by Doctor Vincento Joppi and Signor Antonio Joppi, in the archives of Udine, Vicenza, Aquileja, and Venice, for the special purpose of this essay, and communicated to the present writer by the courtesy of Professor Quinto Maddalozzo at Vicenza, with whom he was brought in connection by his kind friend Dr Francesco Genala at Soresina. To all these gentlemen best thanks are due, and tendered.

in Thomasin's criticisms; and it resulted from his idea of the high office belonging to the Poet, an office which he, however, devoted to Mother Church, was not willing to rank beneath that of the Preacher. Indeed this one idea pervades his book: Mind is King. Frequent are his utterances in this sense. Thus he says that Solomon is known to us more by his writings than by his having been a great ruler.[1] And he complains that learning in his days was not more general, and that, when found, it was not more honoured.

LEARNING AND WISDOM NO LONGER HONOURED.

Wâ ist nu Aristôteles,	Where are now Aristotle,
Zênô und Parmenides,	Zeno and Parmenides,
Platô und Pytâgoras?	Plato and Pythagoras?
wâ ist ouch Anaxâgoras?	Again where is Anaxagoras?
nu wizzet daz mich dunket des,	Now know ye that it seems to me
und lebt hiut Aristôteles,	That if Aristotle lived now-a-days
im entæt dehein ander	No other
künic daz im Alexander	King would do by him what Alexander
ze êren tet di wîl er lebt.	Did in his honour while he lived.[2]

Yet, with all his respect for learning, it is not the mere accumulation of facts, the diffusion of useful knowledge which he aims at; and the real wisdom of life stands in his eyes higher than erudition:

WISDOM PREFERABLE TO LEARNING.

Der kan Grammaticâ wol	He knows grammar well
der rehte lebet als er sol.	Who lives justly, as he ought.
ob er niht rehte sprechen kan,	Though he cannot speak correctly
so ist er doch ein wîse man.	Yet he is a wise man.[3]

With respect to that said accumulation of knowledge, he gives a rule of study, and utters a warning which has its value even in these days of competitive and other examinations when some one has said as a thing to be rejoiced at, and many have repeated it, "He who runs may read:"

[1] Salomôn der ist mêre, v. 9217.
Erkant der werlde durch sîn lêre
Danne durch sin künicriche,
Daz geloubet sicherliche.

[2] V. 5085-93. [3] V. 8999-9002.

READ NOT HASTILY NOR TOO MUCH.

Der pfaffe der vil buoche hât	The priest who has many books
sî stæte an eim von mînem rât,	Let him be steady at one, by my advice,
wan wil ers eins tags übersehen	If he will survey them all in a day ·
gar, so mac daz niht geschehen	It is impossible
daz er vernem ir aller sin.	For him to understand their meaning.
man siht niht wol durch eine tür,	One cannot well see through a door,
ob man ze snell wil loufen vür.	If one wishes to run on too quickly.[1]

And again :

Ein buoch sol lange wern.	A book shall last a long time.[2]

Thomasin's knowledge of contemporary history is very great, and he seems to have watched carefully the political transactions of his time ; witness his allusions to the history of King John of England,[3] to the revolutions of the Greek empire,[4] and so on.

No Italian patriotism is to be found in Thomasin. The time for such national and oppositional feeling had not yet come. When he speaks of Unity,[5] in connection with Rome, it seems to us that his meaning must be twisted to be made to refer to the modern idea of Italian unity which had not then dawned : it is rather the Unity of Christendom which occupied him; and in bewailing its divisions, it is natural for him to regret the loss of the great power of ancient Rome, the capital of the old Empire, and, to him, in uninterrupted line, of the Christian world. Rome once commanded the universe, he says ; now her voice is mocked even at Viterbo.[6] The name of Italy does not occur. With Italian affairs, especially those of Lombardy and Tuscany, he shows himself especially acquainted, and in his survey of

[1] V. 1905-9.

[2] V. 14626. Eschenburg ; '*Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*' reads this line : 'MEIN buoch sol lange wern,' which would recall Horace's '*Exegi monumentum ære perennius*,' and is not incompatible with the considerable consciousness of his own value which Thomasin elsewhere shows.

[3] V. 3423-26.

[4] V. 10607 et seqq. ; and again, v. 11003-22. Vide also his Survey of Europe, v. 2421-96.

[5] V. 2423-39.

[6] Man vürht si ze Biterbe niht, v. 2438. Of a period but slightly anterior, that of Thomas à Beckett, Machiavelli says : mentre che il Papa aveva tanta autorità nei principi longinqui, non poteva farsi ubbidire dai Romani ; dai quali non potette impetrare di potere stare in Roma, ancorachè prometesse d'altro che dell ecclesiastico non si travagliare ; tanto le cose che paiono sono più discosto che d'appresso temute. Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

the state of the Christian world[1] the different parts of Italy occupy more space than, geographically, would be their due. Yet, the names of Italian cities are Germanized,[2] and in complaining of the real or apparent decay of the Lombard towns, which he witnessed as a recent event and ascribed to their own faults,[3] he nowhere thinks of recommending, as a remedy, what would now be called a national policy, and what must have appeared to him as a revolt against the universality of the Christian empire, as represented by Pope and Cæsar.

In his twenty-third year we find our author at the court of the Emperor Otho IV., that is, among the Guelphs. We obtain his age at that period by comparing our former calculation with the ascertained date of Otho's presence in Lombardy, 1209, and his subsequent coronation in Rome, Sept. 27. Perhaps business connected with the see of Aquileja may have led Thomasin to go to court, but his sympathies were then with the Emperor's cause, which, for the moment, was the Pope's. Not without misgiving he saw the overconfidence of that ruler, whose decline though not his death he was to witness before the *welhische Gast* was finished. But whilst he felt compelled to pass over to the other side, he is far from insulting his ancient chief.

Previous to giving a passage very characteristic both of our author's heart and of his way of rising, in the expounding of matters of courtesy, to considerations of weightier import, it may not be unwelcome to briefly summarize the principal events of that period as far as Italy and Germany, Pope and Emperor, are concerned.

Henry VI.—the VI. as king of Germany, though the V. only as Emperor, the first German Henry, Otho I.'s father, never having borne the Imperial Crown[4]—had died after having united the two Sicilies to the other possessions of the Hohenstaufen family, leaving an only son, Frederic II., in tender years (1197). This grand-child of Frederic Barbarossa was under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His mother, Constantia, by sacrificing to the Pope important rights of the

[1] V. 2421-96.
[2] Biterbe, Berne, Presse = Viterbo, Verona, Brescia.
[3] V. 2439-54.
[4] German writers are apt to confound the two dignities: Machiavelli's (who is more exact) Henry I. is their Henry II., and so on.

crown, had procured his coronation as king of the Sicilies. But no similar influence could restrain the princes of Germany from falling away from their promised allegiance to a child three years of age. His uncle, duke Philip of Suabia, seized upon the crown on one hand, whilst the Guelph party elected an anti-king in Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and of Mathilda, Henry II.'s of England daughter. Otho had distinguished himself among the fighting men of his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, and now waged, with changing fortunes, a ten years' war of North against South, of Guelph against Ghibellin. After Philip of Suabia had been murdered, a victim to the private revenge of Otho of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of the Bavarian kings, the kingly and imperial dignities accrued for a space of four years (1208—1212) wholly to Otho of Brunswick. He was crowned by Pope Innocent in 1209, who, however, in the midst of Otho's victorious march through Italy, pronounced excommunication against him for having resumed the sovereignty of Ancona and Spoleto, and thus curtailed the papal states, and opposed to him his apparently half-forgotten ward, Frederic II., "our child" as Thomasin affectionately calls him.[1] Abandoned by many of his friends, surrounded by enemies, and in luckless alliance with King John Lackland, he was beaten at Bouvines in 1214 by Philip Augustus of France, but continued fighting for his position, and died in 1218. At the date of our poem he was evidently hard beset. It is of this man our author speaks with reference to Moderation in Blazonry.

When Sir Otho was in Lombardy,
With whom things have now gone hard,
And had also come to Rome,
As you probably have heard,
I came there at that time, 10475
And was in his court, that is true,

[1] Nu nemet ouch bilde dâ bî, 10569
wie unser kint gestigen sî.
dô man gewis sîn wolde
daz er Püllen vliesen solde,
dô gab im got tiuschiu lant, &c.

. . . diventò Ottone nemico del Pontifice, occupò la Romagna, e ordinava di assalire il regno; per la qual cosa il Papa lo scomunicò, in modo chè fu de ciascheduno abbandonato, e gli Elettori elessero per imperadore Federigo re di Napoli.—*Machiavelli*, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

About eight weeks and more :
Then this displeased me exceedingly
That there appeared in his shield
No less than three lions and half an eagle.
That was doing it immoderately
In two directions, surely.
Three lions were too much.
He who wishes to bear (in his shield) one lion,
If he can direct his course of action by such a model,
Him I think an upright man.
Likewise you shall know
That half an Eagle is not sound :
I will in this to you not lie :
Half an Eagle cannot fly.
That was in Little and in Much
Immoderation, if you will understand it.
I have an inkling that it was to signify
What was to come afterwards.
One lion shows highmindedness,
Three lions shows arrogance.
He who has the heart of three lions,
Follows the counsel of arrogance ;
If one has the spirit of one lion
Methinks that he does enough.
The eagle flies very high,
His high flight betokens honour,
And so truly betokens
Half an eagle the parting of honour.
Now every one will see
That Sir Otho has
Parted with the Empire by arrogance.
He who wishes to ascend
With the hearts of three lions beyond the spirit of man,
He must shortly descend in the course of victory :
However high half an eagle might be,
He could not but fall, that is true.
I do not say this in order
To reproach him in any way
With being arrogant.
Were I to do so, it would not seem to me good.
For however he has fared
I will yet guard myself
Not to speak evil of him,
Since I should weaken myself
By doing so ; it shall not happen
If I can help it.
But what I have said,

I have said,
That people may get sense,
Otherwise I should not have said it,
Yet I may well say it
That every one may mark it,
And take an example thereby
That things have happened thus with him.

Innocent III. had died in 1216, two years before the luckless Emperor. His death is not mentioned by Thomasin, and had it occurred at the time of the writing of *der welhische Gast*, it would in all probability not have been passed over by the poet, who is sufficiently in the habit of moralizing on contemporary events, and who moreover was evidently a strong adherent of Innocent, and much under the influence of that pope, Thomasin's fervent exhortation to a new Crusade being, as H. Rückert has well shown, chiefly a paraphrase of the Bull of Innocent. This observation, if we desire further confirmation of the date we have assigned to the poem, singularly narrows the calculation. The poem cannot have been written before 1215, and not after 1216, and we know that the first eight cantos were written in as many months.

Whether when Frederic II. in his time came into collision with the Pope, Thomasin was capable of retaining his affectionate allegiance for "our child," may fairly be doubted. His old Guelph reminiscences, his unfaltering adherence to the spiritual power and to orthodoxy, his very veneration for mind as distinguished from outward authority, his associations with clerical learning, the small store he set on princes and the nobility, unless they were officering to the welfare of the community of their fellow-men; all this must have drawn him towards, if not into, the ranks of those who hunted to death that brilliant ruler. But we are allowed, from Thomasin's bearing towards the falling Otho, to conclude that if his allegiance would be withdrawn from Frederic, somewhat of his affection would remain, and his withdrawal would be marked, not by the fiery spirit of the zealous renegade, but by the sad thoughts of one who in grievous disappointment cuts himself off from old ties, respecting the fallen because he respects himself, of whom the lost one was a part. But this is speculation: with the death of Innocent, the image of Thomasin, while yet a young man,

recedes from our view. Whatever fights he fought, whatever books he wrote, have vanished into the gray abyss. Whatever his contemporaries may have learnt from him, whether or not they felt the debt which the world owes, for the example he sets, to a man of great mind and stout heart, they do not speak of him. One single exception to this exists: his death is mentioned, again, in the shadowy manner which surrounds him, and which we have tried somewhat to clear up: no date is affixed, in the registers of the cathedral of Aquileja, to the bare record of his demise. Yet we learn by it that he did enter, or re-enter, the priesthood, and attained the dignity of a Canon.[1] We have the 'Italian Guest;' the rest is silence. And it remains to us but very briefly to sum up the man's character, and that of his book.

A man who has seen life and tasted its sweets, who has acquired the best knowledge his time could give him, and has found something higher; thinking knowledge of small account when not improving wisdom; going in all things to the root of the matter; sufficiently penetrated with the then current modes of viewing human life to enable him to understand his time, yet himself penetrating through the elegant skins and savoury flesh of the fruit to the very kernel; ascending from courtesy to goodness, from nobility of rank to nobleness of heart; seeing in all station and dignity but an office and an obligation, exchanging for a real respect for women, as one half of God's creation of noble human beings, that unhealthy tone of gallantry[2] which his age had carried to its utmost excess, and which has so constantly become the flimsy cover of real wrong; loudly proclaiming, in accents that remind us of Robert Burns, and of Schiller, the indestructible privileges of man in even the humblest condition; modest, yet self-conscious; convinced that he has to say things worth hearing, yet unwilling to speak to the utterly corrupt, while indefatigable in

[1] (Sine anno) . . . Obitus Tomasini de Cerclara Canonici Aquilejensis. Ex necrologio ecclesiæ Aquilejensis. Found by Signori Joppi, and communicated by Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza to the present writer, who is happy to call to this newly-discovered fact the attention of the German historians of literature.

[2] "Lyrical poetry . . . . degenerated into an unworthy idolatry of ladies." *Max Müller.* The German Classics, xvii.

drawing forth the germs of good in those who are fit and inclined to hear his teaching; wholly indifferent to the mockeries of the mob, though ready to value the good opinion of the honourable and the distinguished;[1] most delicate in his appreciation of things and persons, drawing a teaching from apparently empty forms, finding "sermons in stones and good in everything;" always firm of purpose, surprising us sometimes by the refinement of feeling which accompanies the justness of his thought; almost always grave, rarely stern, grave with the gravity of one mellowed by misfortune and meditation, full of sympathy in contact, of illustration in speech; incessantly warring, above all, against all unsteadiness and all frivolity, sometimes with a touch of fun and real humour; ever generous to the fallen; gentle and mild to all men, barring heretics—thus appears to us Thomasin, as unconsciously painted by himself.

A few extracts will justify the apparent extravagance of our praise, the reader being pleased to remember what was that age of almost universal oppression—so, at least, it appears to us—wherein our author wrote.

And first as to heretics. Their existence in Lombardy and elsewhere[2] having been observed by him, and treated as an unmitigated evil, seeing that, in his eyes, the heretic is a man

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

he is betrayed into this grim joke:

ON HERETICS.

Lombardy would be exceedingly well off
Had she . . . the Lord of Austria 12686

[1] Bœser liute spot ist mir unmære.
Hân ich Gâweins hulde wol,
Von reht mîn Key spotten sol. v. 76-78.

Most of our readers are familiar with the personages of the King Arthur cycle of legends. To others, we could perhaps not bring home in a more compendious form the force of the allusions to Gâwein (= Owain) and Key (= Kai) than by this passage from the Lady of the Fountain: "In very truth, said Gwenhyvar, it were better thou wert hanged, Kai, than to use such uncourteous speech towards a man like Owain." Lady Guest's Mabinogian, Lady of the Fountain, Welsh text, vol. i. p. 1—38, Engl. transl. 39—84.

[2] In Provence, where they have expelled Steadiness, v. 2471-72; in Milan, v. 2489.

Who knows how to seethe the heretics.
He would find there a fine opportunity for doing justice ;
He does not wish the devil
Should break his teeth at once
When he eats them, therefore he has them
Well boiled and roasted. 12692

This Lord of Austria, let it be said in passing, is Leopold VI.[1] (1198—1230), surnamed *pater clericorum*, the successor of that Leopold with whom Richard Cœur de Lion had a mutually unpleasant acquaintance, and otherwise, it appears, a man not without good parts ; at any rate, a patron of the arts. Other testimony, contemporary and later, may be adduced, that the heretic-hunt did not do all the good that was expected. The almost complete eradication of Protestantism from Austria was reserved for later princes and another dynasty.

Whilst, however, inclined to excuse, to a great extent, by the prevalent views of the age, the savageness of feeling expressed by a man otherwise so gentle, we must yet observe that outside the ranks of the heretics themselves, there must then have been some people pleading, in the spirit of our own age, for that toleration which most of the heretics themselves, if we are to judge them by their mental descendant, Calvin, would be so little inclined to give. For Thomasin himself introduces such a one in conversation, in order to conquer what would appear to him but specious arguments. After having expatiated on the insufficiency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and claimed the arm of the secular power, he continues :

Here says perhaps a man, 12653
Who cannot rightly understand the matter :
One ought not to force any one 12655
Into right and sound belief.
" We even leave the Jews unhurt,
Though they do not wish to be Christians."
I will give him answer :
If my child would not live 12660
According to my wish, as his duty is to do,
I should beat him and censure him well.
But if your child would not live
Accordingly, and as by rights he ought,

[1] Not Leopold VII., as Rückert has it in his notes, p. 603, by a misprint probably.

I should not trouble myself
About beating him ; you had better do that.
Thus shall act the Church ;
She shall well coerce her own children
And shall leave strange children
Subject to their own fathers.
Why should she coerce the Jews
In any way ? They do not belong to her.
As to heretics, it is her part to coerce them,
Since they truly were her children.
If a man is baptized,
He is her child from that time ;
If he afterwards wishes
To depart from her, oh, believe me,
One ought to coerce him
Into acting rightly and well.
And let there be secular judgment
If the ecclesiastical will not avail.

Poor as this reasoning may appear to us, there is perhaps cause for congratulation in it : if generally accepted, it protected at least one class of human beings—for we can hardly say of the community—against bigotry, and may have paved the way, by the mere fact of some unbelievers remaining unpersecuted, to broader views. Things might have been worse. Thomasin helped to prepare the fifth Crusade ; not only the first, but also the third, only a quarter of a century before he wrote, were almost, as a matter of course, ushered in by a grand massacre of Jews.[1]

Yet one very important observation must be made in excuse of Thomasin and his contemporaries : to us, at least to many, let us hope to most of us, heresy is a matter of dogma, and we are capable of distinguishing between the holding of theological opinions and the

[1] *Michaud, Croisades*, Livre ii.—*Richard of Devizes*, Lest. 3.— : About that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion dispatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin.—*Bohn's* Edition.—Similar testimony abounds.

doing of moral acts. Not so with Thomasin; the heretic is so, in his eyes, because he is a bad and immoral man. He is a being

> To whom anything seems good 11269
> That he happens to like doing,

and this he thinks he can safely assert from having known a thousand of them (v. 11300). And therefore it is useless to argue with heretics: they are without doctrine and without sense (v. 11303).[1] And Thomasin, while wishing to encourage, enlighten, and strengthen those whose dispositions are on the whole good, yet thinks it useless to occupy himself with those who are already thoroughly bad. Thus, in his Introduction, he wishes his book to fall into the hands of no *unsteady* man, and towards the conclusion of his book, he is very emphatic on this point. Addressing his work, as he sends it out into the world, he says:

> Now be exhorted, Italian Guest,
> When you have hold of a noble branch, 14710
> Let not yourself be drawn from it
> By a bad thorn. Though
> One may say to the wolf
> The Lord's prayer all day long,
> He yet will never speak anything 14715
> Like a lamb. Thus it happens
> With the bad man, whatever one say to him,
> It goes, as far as truth is concerned,
> In by the one ear and out by the other.
> How could there be any lasting impression 14720
> Where a person does not think over (what has been said)?
> Know ye that a worthless person
> Does not like to force his thoughts
> Away from frivolous things to good.
> Know ye that one cannot fill 14725
> A sack with holes in it.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Therefore, my book, shalt thou remain
> With him who is willing to write you
> Into his heart and spirit.

[1] Thus, even half a century later, Saint Louis, fiercer than Thomasin, advises his court: "So I say to you, said the King, that no one, if he is not a very learned clerk, ought to dispute with them; but a layman when he hears the Christian law gainsaid, should not defend it except with the sword, which he should drive into the gainsayer's body as far as he can make it go." *Joinville*, ed. Michel et Didot. 1858.—*Bohn's* ed. p. 362. (Chronicles of the Crusades.)

And again:

No man shall show to his lady-love, 14667
Either through carelessness, or through lovingness,
Nor to his lord, nor to his lady,
Nor to his friend,
This my speech,
Unless virtue appear in them.

It may be difficult for Thomasin to conciliate with his orthodox Christianity, this repelling of those who are not already virtuous; but perhaps he only exaggerates the truth, that no fruit can be expected where there is no germ, a truth which in the following form recommends itself to, and will be approved by, educators:

To him who is virtuous or becoming so 14631
To him I give in friendship
My book, that with it
He may steer his beautiful manners.[1]
Let him also with good action 14635
Improve what he has
Read in my book;
Let him be exhorted thereto.
But he who has no good breeding and does not know how to act handsomely[2]
Let him have nothing to do with it. 14640
No teaching has power
To make him virtuous
In whom virtue is not inherent.
You may strike the water all day long
And yet it will not give fire,[3] 14645
Since to have fire is not in its nature.
However cold a stone be
Yet with cunning one wins
Fire out of it, since that is in it.
If there be sense in a man 14650
However slow he may be to good works
Yet one may with teaching bring him
To virtue and piety.
Know ye this as a truth;
Tinder brings out the fire well, 14655

[1] We have intentionally preferred this literal translation to one which, though more elegant, would wash out the original colouring of the thought.

[2] Swer nien hât zuht und *schoene site*. The translator has tried to come as nearly as seemed possible to him, to a convenient word expressing somewhat the *καλοκἀγᾶθία* of the ancients. "Handsome is that handsome does."

[3] Strike the water—the old way, which some of our generation still recollect, of striking sparks with a steel out of flint, and catch them up with tinder.

Yet no one must suppose 14656
That it could make the fire.
Thus teaching rouses into waking
The sense, and yet cannot make it.

The following extracts hardly require comment.

OVER-ARDENT LOVE.

Swer einem wîb ze holt ist,
dem ist wê zaller vrist.
swenners niht gesehen mac,
sô tobet er naht unde tac.
hey waz er gedenkend ist
unnützer dinge zaller vrist!
und sæhe man waz er tuot
mit gedanke in sînem muot,
er müeste sich sîn schamen sêre.

If one is overfond of a woman,
His heart aches at all times.
When he may not see her,
He rages night and day.
Hey, what useless things
He is thinking of always!
And were one to see what he does
With his thoughts in his mind
He would have justly to be ashamed of himself.[1]

LOVE.

Ein ieglîchr hât wol die sinne
daz er weiz, möht man koufen minne,
daz diu minn wær eigen gar:
sus ist diu minne vrî, deist wâr.
swer wænet koufen minn umb guot,
der erkennet weder minn noch muot,
wan bêdiu muot und minne
suln uns bejagen unser sinne
und unser zuht niht unser guot.

Everyone may have the sense
To know that if one could buy Love,
Love were a slave:
Now love is freeborn, that is true.
He who fancies he can buy love for riches
He knows not the nature either of Love or of the Soul:
Since both the Soul and Love
Ought to conquer our senses
And our manners, not our goods.[2]

NO MAN WHOLLY A SLAVE.

Ein man ist niht eigen gar,
daz sol man wizzen wol vür wâr.
swer sîn wænt, hât niht vernomen
daz daz beste teil ist ûz genomen:
wan die sêle und den gedanc
nie dehein man bedwanc.

A man is not wholly another's,
That shall you truly know.
He who fancies so, has not learnt
That the best part (of man) is excepted:
Since the Soul and the Thoughts
No man ever forced.[3]

IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER OPPRESSION THAN TO INFLICT IT.

Ob dich dîn herre schendet sêre,
daz ist dir niht sô grôz unêre
sô, daz du zaller vrist
mit dem dinge unmüezec bist
daz du dir einn vrîen man
wil machen undertân,
alsô er ein vihe wære:
swerz tuot, der ist got unmære.

If thy lord should dishonourably oppress thee,
That is not as great dishonour to thee,
As that thou at all times
Art busy about the thing
That thou shouldst wish to make a freeman
Subject to thee,
As if he were a beast:
He who does that, is unpleasing to God.[4]

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[1] V. 4125-33. [2] V. 1243-51. Vide also p. 122.
[3] V. 7875-80. [4] V. 7857-64.

RECOGNIZE MAN'S NATURE IN A SERVANT.

Jâ sol man sînen eigenkneht	Nay, as to your own servant
lâzen leben nâch mannes reht.	One shall let him live according to Man's Rights.
man sol an im got êrn,	One shall in him honour God,
man sol von im des dienstes gern,	One shall of him ask service
daz man an die menscheit	In such a manner as to be mindful of humanity.
gedenke, diu hôhe ist beleit.	The
wil du vertreten mit dem vuoz	Wilt thou trample underfoot
den der lîht hôher sitzen muoz	Him who perchance may sit higher
denne du in unsers herren rîche,	Than thou in the kingdom of our Lord?
daz enstêt niht rîterlîche.	That is ill-befitting a knight.[1]

TRUE NOBILITY, AND NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

Nobility also may
Make us dream. If a man
Is nobler (by birth) than another
And thinks himself always of more account
He deceives himself in that:
No one is noble but the man
Who has set his heart and mind
Towards that which is really good.
If a man be well-born
And have lost the nobility of his disposition,
I may truly tell you
He quite shames his birth:
If a man be well-born
His birth demands at all times
That he act well and justly.[2]
If he do not control himself thus to act,
Then his vice is all the greater:
His birth diminishes his honour.
If ye have understood me well,
You know that it is a mistake to think
That he is courtly (gentle, hüfsch) at all times,
Who is noble in the world:
For as I have said even before this,
To do well, that is Courtliness.
If one has a courteous disposition,
He does justly whatever he does.
He who acts well at all times,

[1] V. 7865-74.

[2] Ainsi plus votre rang vous élève en ce monde,
Plus il faut que chez vous le vrai mérite abonde;
C'est lui seul qu'on estime, et vous devez savoir
Combien sur les humains l'exemple a de pouvoir.
Frédéric de Prusse à son frère.

Know ye that he is noble:
Again, know ye that they are noble 3925
Who are wholly the children of God.

Yet Thomasin is hardly a democrat, certainly not a revolutionist; see his book iii. sect. vi. Each one is to keep his place, and it is foolish for a peasant to want to be a lord. As to the latter:

The people are to be as dear to him 3092
As his own life is to him.

So that we arrive very nearly at the axiom: everything for the people, nothing through the people. Yet even thus to sum up, with the formula of enlightened despotism, his political views—the democratic tendency of which seems to us to have been exaggerated by Gervinus—would appear to be a mistake: formulas for constitutional government, whatever be their value to us, were very far from Thomasin's mind. He was not a constitution-monger. He accepted the state of the world as he found it, and instead of devising new machinery for guiding it, he rather sought to penetrate with a living spirit of justice and kindness the forms existing. Mr Mathew Arnold ought to rejoice in his acquaintance. Modern French socialists would be shocked by his incapacity for recognizing an equality where none exists; he by no means overlooks the difference between the courtly knight or learned clerk and the boorish peasant; when he wants to point out a particularly mean way of conduct, he is very apt to say that such a one acts like a tradesman, and he is, above all, a gentleman writing for gentlemen, no doubt with the view of making them conceive that word in its highest sense. His views on the position and duties of gentlemen seem to us greatly to coincide with that fine chapter in Pascal where the author forcibly shows to the young nobleman the unrealities and the unjustifiableness of his position unless filled for the public good.[1]

Leaving politics alone, we may show our author's refinement and justness of feeling in some passages on Presents and Liberality.

Presents, he says, may be given out of wealth unjustly acquired, or with a view to a future advantage, or again from luxuriousness

[1] *Pensées*, art. xii. *Sur les conditions des Grands.*

(14125-50), but the giver cannot lay claim to liberality or gentleness :

Him who wishes to give to me anything in such a manner,
I will never thank much ;
For, truly, his present
Has been made to Luxuriousness.
I like the upright gentle man,
But She through whom he has done it,
Let her thank him if she like :
I will never thank him much.
But him who gives through gentleness
Him I shall thank alway.

And again :

Let every one see
That his present be appropriate.
One must always see
Who is the man to whom one gives,
That one may give at all times
According as the man is.
Yea, one ought to give to a rich man
Rare things, surely,
And to a poor one at all times
That which is good and useful to him.
He who will not make a distinction in people,
Makes his presents in an indiscreet manner.
Where there is no discretion,
There is never any gentleness.
For such un-virtue lies
Far from virtue always.
He who wants to give with discretion
Let him give neither too little nor too much.
He has measured according to his means
Who gives justly.
He robs himself, truly,
Who scatters his own.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

The man who wishes to give more,
Must unjustly take much ;
He must swear and lie
And rob and cheat.
He who has taken it unjustly,
Has departed from gentleness ;
Whilst virtue does no harm,
Harm is done by un-virtue.

One is to give presents to any one in suchwise 14195
That no one derive displeasure by the gift
From whom it may have been taken.
He who wants to give justly,
Let him not delay too much. 14260
He who lets himself be begged much,
Know ye that he has sold
What he gives away.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Such is not the action of the gentle-man
Who can give justly,
For he seeks out to whom to give
And what he'd better give. 14290
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
He who sets an angry countenance
When he gives: know ye 14310
He had better give nothing.
He who gives, fearing the giving,
And holds back at all times,
He is full of cowardice, 14315
And is equal to him who refuses.
One ought, by one's eyes and mouth,
To show at the time
Of giving, that one's disposition
Of willingly giving is perceived. 14320
Know ye that he gives properly
Who so gives always,
That with the present, he bestows
Both his will and heart.
He is but a poor fellow[1] 14325
Who thinks of the money
When he is to give anything:
. . . . . .
He is quite a tradesman
Who gives for gain, that is true.

We have, in the foregoing, while speaking of the author, anticipated much that might be said of the book. On the whole, it may be observed, it justifies the remark of Hallam[2] that "in the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to

[1] *Boesewiht*,—but that word had not then, or at least plainly not always, the meaning of its modern form.

[2] Middle Ages. Chap. ix. Part II. Chivalry connected with religion, and with gallantry.

spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind." And Thomasin's conception of courtesy may again well be summed up in Hallam's observation[1] that "this word expressed the most highly refined good-breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from the heart." Yet it ought to be observed that Thomasin consciously took a wider range, and fathomed more deeply human life than similar writers did, or than he had done himself in this first book from which the second distinctly is a progressive step. Hence the more he proceeds in *The Italian Guest*, the more do externals disappear, whilst in the first canto, the partial reproduction of the Courtesy book, they still hold their place. As one who had heard much of virtue in those books which glorified chivalry, and related to the search for the Graal and to similar subjects, he proposed to himself to inquire what then was really virtue, and what the conditions of arriving at it, an inquiry by which he necessarily was led to condemn much of that very spirit which pervaded those novels and was exhibited as a model. For it appeared to him that virtue could not be acquired or kept, unless by Steadiness, a word which would, in his sense and in our vocabulary, comprise Firmness, Consistency, Fortitude, and perhaps a few more cardinal virtues. To this Steadiness, allying itself to Sense, is opposed Unsteadiness, as allying itself with Nonsense, or Frivolity and Un-wisdom, and whose children are Anger and Lies, while her sister is Immoderation.[2] And against that Unsteadiness, whereof the hero Percival had his good share, Thomasin's shafts are for ever levelled in many passages, whereof the following is a fair sample:

UNSTEADINESS.

What is Unsteadiness? A shame to the Lords,
A going-astray in all lands.
Unsteadiness is steadiness in bad things:
No one can constrain her 1840

[1] Ibid., Courtesy.

[2] V. 9885.

To lean to good things.
Unsteadiness is not free.
Unsteadiness is quite a serf
To Un-virtue at all times.
Unsteadiness follows Un-virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
Every Un-virtue has
Both her service and her council.
Unsteadiness is quite un-leisurely
In all things, at all times.
What Unsteadiness does to-day
That appears no longer good to her to-morrow.
She builds up that which
Her unsteady advice has broken.[1]
Unsteadiness changes quickly
The square into a curve.
The curve she leaves not alone,
As it had better stand on four corners.
That is always her favourite game,
To strive for that which she (really) has no wish for.
Change does not fright her:
The little she makes into something great,
The great, however, she makes little.
Now she runs, now she walks softly,
Now she mounts, now she falls down,
Now she goes away, to-morrow comes back,
Now to the mountains, now to the sea,
Now she is by herself (self-sufficient), to-morrow in a crowd,
Now away to the wood, now in town:
Here and there is she,
Since she carries that in her heart
Which chases her every whither.
From place to place she likes to go,
But never from the desires of her own heart.
If to the tail of a young dog
One ties a bell, he runs and turns
Himself hither and thither, and knows not
That he carries that from which he flees.
Thus it is with the unsteady man.

As to the style of the book, our readers can form a correct idea by the fragments, both original and translated, which we give. On the whole, it cannot be said to be free from that prolixity which belongs to an age when time was plentiful; yet here and there pas-

[1] Comp. Horace, Epist. I. lib. I. v. 100 et seq.

sages of great terseness occur, frequently in connection with an unexpected turn of thought.

Thomasin, like Lord Lytton, in our days, has dedicated his book to Germany, whose guest, very likely a welcome one, he felt himself.[1]

We have said that *The Italian Guest* is preserved in many MSS. The oldest of these dates from 1248, and is preserved at Erbach; it is written with great neatness, and adorned with many illuminations, which Rückert believes may be reproductions of such as Thomasin himself made or indicated. The best, perhaps belonging to the end of the 13th century, is now again at Heidelberg; whence in the Thirty Years' War it had, with the rest of the library, been carried to the Vatican. It forms the basis of the text before us. Others are found at Gotha, Stuttgard, Dresden, Munich, Wolfenbüttel; and all the more valuable ones have been collated by our editor, while the Gotha MS. has served for some fragments published independently. To our Italian friends, mentioned above, we owe the information that the Abbey of Moggio in Friuli possesses, or possessed, a copy of Thomasin, the date of which reaches almost to the Erbach one.[2] These MSS., not counting several made in the last century, descend to the year 1457, showing therefore a continued appreciation of the book during about two centuries and a half. A writer, belonging to the middle of the 15th century, a Bavarian Knight, briefly mentions our book in his *Ehrenbrief*, which includes a kind of metrical *catalogue raisonné* of the literary works he was acquainted with.[3]

Still it had not the honour of being multiplied by the new art of printing; and however much it may have contributed to the spirit which produced Erasmus and the Reformers, it was not brought out again from partial oblivion by these, as was the case with Piers Ploughman, because it did not offer such polemical material

[1] V. 86-136.

[2] Da inventario di bene dell' Abazia di Moggio in Friuli si ha: Anno 1250 . . . liber teutonicus dictus *Valisergast*. Dall' archivio Capitolare di Udine.—No trace of this in Rückert or the other German writers.

[3] Stanza 104. Den wälischen Gast gezieret Hat Thomasin von Clar. J. C. (the elder) Adelung's ed. of Püterich von Reicharzhausen. 1788, (in the Br. Mus.) p. 15.

as that book. For the first time, since the Reformation, Thomasin is mentioned by an obscure writer, named Turgel, in a short notice of MSS. in the Gotha Library, published in 1691.[1] After that, we find the book alluded to three or four times during the 18th century,[2] but merely as a literary fossil, and in a manner which leaves us very doubtful whether the notice which some literary antiquarians took of the MSS., led them to really read the book, and, to any extent, become aware of its spirit. The younger Adelung,[3] when inquiring into the literary treasures of the Rome of his time, was one of the first to call more serious attention to *The Italian Guest*, at the end of the last century.[4] Between his two publications on the Vatican Manuscripts, Eschenburg, the man who first gave to Germany a complete translation of Shakespere, published a few extracts from the Wolfenbüttel copy,[5] and shortly after gave a chapter to our author in his 'Monuments of Old German Poetry.'[6] It is, however, fairly allowable to believe that none of the writers mentioned had read Thomasin at all completely. This was reserved for our century, to the Grimms and their school. W. Grimm, in his Reynard the Fox, published from it a charmingly told fable; Wackernagel, in his Reading book, another extract on Etiquette or Courtesy rules. These two fragments have now been, for several years, before the English public, Max

[1] Monatl. Unterredungen. 1691. p. 926.

[2] By Cyprian, Schilter, Abbot Gebert of St Blasien, Miller, Gottsched, Bodmer. Vide Eschenburg, Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst. Bremen, 1799. pp. 114-144. (In the Br. Mus.)

[3] Frederick Adelung. Nachrichten von altdeutschen Gedichten, welche aus der Heidelbergischen Bibliothek in die Vaticanische gekommen sind. Königsberg, 1796.

Altdeutsche Gedichte in Rom, oder fortgesetzte Nashrichten von Heidelbergischen Handschriften in der Vaticanischen Bibliothek, v. Fr. Adelung. Königsberg. 1799.

[4] *Habent sua fata libelli!* Adelung, in the first of these works just quoted, says (p. 39), "Perhaps this notice will serve to call greater attention to the treasures of the Vatican, which, alas, are probably for ever lost to our country." General Tilly, 1622, had carried away those treasures from Heidelberg; his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, presented them to the Pope. The rise of Napoleon was required to bring them from the Vatican to Paris, his fall to bring back to Heidelberg what had remained of them in spite of Tilly's soldiers and other pilferers.

[5] In *Braga and Hermode*. vol. 2, Sect. II. pp. 134-56, &c. (not in Br. Mus.); quotation from Adelung's second report on the Vatican library.

[6] Eschenburg, Denkmäler. Vide above.

Müller having included them, with translations into Modern Grammar, in his German classics.[1] Gervinus read the book in manuscript, and has the merit of communicating to his readers his high appreciation of our author; but according to his wont, speaks *ex cathedrâ* only, not taking the reader into his confidence, not adducing a single passage.[2] The book, and the public, had still to wait till 1852,[3] when Dr Heinrich Rückert, now Professor at the University of Breslau, and a son of the poet Friedrich Rückert, gave us the first and only edition of Thomasin,[4]—a work of great learning and labour, but little comfort to the reader. It would certainly fall under the ire of Mr Thomas Carlyle against index-less books.[5] And it is not an index only we miss, but also a glossary of difficult words, and those simple but useful contrivances yclept headlines, or at least indication of book and chapter at the top of the page, marginal notes, references, footnotes. All the notes, together with the collations, are thrown to the end; and the greater part of them consists of disquisitions on details of metre and rhyme.[6] On the whole, the typographical arrangement is uncomfortable; and the whole book seems characterized by a desire to be useful to one already deeply engaged in the study of Early German, but forbidding to the general reader, who must, it seems, by no means be attracted, by this book at any rate, to the study of the subject. In all these respects, the publications of the Early English Text Society seem to the present writer greatly preferable. They appear not to wish to warn off the premises of learning the innocent wanderer in the realms of letters who may curiously

[1] The German Classics. Longman, 1864, pp. 201, 212, and notice of Thomasin, p. xvii.

[2] G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. V. vols. 4 ed. Leipzig, 1853.—Vol. I. p. 429, et seq.; 3d ed. 1846.

[3] Dr Grion, an Italian writer, the author of an essay on Ciullo di Alcamo [Padua, 1858, Brit. Mus.], seems to have published a notice of Tommasino, previous to 1845. Dr Genala at Soresina, and Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza, to whom we owe this information, have, so far, not succeeded in procuring for us the *opusculum*.

[4] Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben mit sprachlichen und geschichtlichen Anmerkungen von Dr Heinr. Rückert. Quedlinburg and Leipzig; Basse. 1852. xii. and 612 pp.

[5] Life of Frederic the Great.

[6] Biographically and with reference to the age in which our author lived, hardly anything is said. Even our calculations as to dates, p. 83 and 92, we had to make for ourselves, and for ourselves had to find the elements of them.

wish to stray into the paths of old national literature; they appear rather to invite him by a little freshness in the very hedgerows which surround their paradise, and to take him kindly by the hand, and help on his step, though it be a little faltering at first, instead of scaring him with thorns and brambles of grim learning, and striking awe into him for approaching the sanctum of the initiated. Will the editor, whom we have to thank, not only with all his readers, for the immense labour he has bestowed on the book, but also personally for a courteous communication in reply to an inquiry of ours, and will other German scholars who may read this, pardon us for this friendly expression of a doubt whether by writing too much as professional and professorial *Gelehrte* for a class, nay almost a caste, of *Gelehrte*, and enwrapped in their dignity, utterly scorning the *dilettante*, they do not, almost wilfully, restrict too much the number of their readers, fail in their mission of interesting a large section of the educated public, and drive them into the insipidities of what is called in Germany popular literature?

We now proceed to summarize at some length the first, and for this 'Book of Courtesy' most important, canto, proposing to give a much slighter sketch of the following ones. And for the first portion of this, we use an old summary, which is found in the Gotha-manuscript, written by the same hand as the whole poem, and repeated, with small variations, in most of the other MSS. Though not by Thomasin himself, it is undoubtedly very old,—much older than that Gotha MS. itself, whose date is 1340; it is made, on the whole, fairly enough, and for its naïve quaintness may merit partial reproduction.

SUMMARY.

BOOK THE FIRST.—V. 1—1706.

"He who wants to know the matter whereof this book speaks, will find (here) the matters all marked down one after the other. This book is divided into ten parts, and each part has its chapters; some parts have ten chapters, some more, some less, and each chapter has some sub-sections, some many, some few.

V. 1—140. Before I begin the book, I say in my preface that

every man is to apply himself that he may by his works fulfil that which he has read of good things; and I tell how the bad man turns good counsel (speech) into bad; and then I announce that I wish to speak of the Virtues, and what piety (*frumcheit*) is, and what Discipline or Good Breeding (*zucht*) is; and I explain that I am not quite master of the language, and ask (those of) the German tongue to favourably receive my outlandish (*welsch*) book, and not to let any *unsteady* (unsteten) man see it, and then I begin my book thus.

I. v. 141—296. I first of all speak of Idleness, and what one is to do at all times, and that Laziness is a blot upon (*schendet*) a man, and how difficult it is to get free of such a habit; and what teaching one is to be ashamed of, and how wicked he is who has (in him) Vain-gloriousness, Lies and Mockery, and that one is not to boast, and that Boasting is (*wirser*) worse still in women than in men.

II. v. 297—526. I also say how young gentlemen behave noisily (*schallent*) when they come from court to the tavern, and how badly that sits upon them, and that they ought to observe those things which they have seen at court, and that they ought to treat their followers well; and I say how and wherefore one ought to honour strangers."

Let us here interrupt the summary by introducing a set of courtesy rules: they are those which Mr Max Müller has given, as mentioned above; and for the convenience of such of our readers as may possess his 'German Classics,' we depart, in this instance only, from Rückert's text, and adopt the forms, chiefly dialectically and not essentially differing, of the Gotha MS., which Mr Müller, with Wackernagel, has followed. For we may observe in passing that the copyists of that time, in translating a book, were inclined to adapt its language to the dialect of their part of the country.

ich wil daz einr den andern êre,
wellent si volgen zühte lêre.

ir deheiner sol zeiner tür
den andern allen dringen für.
Beidiu frowen unde hêrren
sulen frömde liute êren:
ist sîn ein frömder man niht wert,
si habent sich selben geêrt.

I wish that one should honour the other,
If they wish to follow the teaching of Good Breeding.
None of them shall at a door
Press before all the others.
Both ladies as well as gentlemen
Shall honour strangers:
If any stranger be not worthy of it,
Yet they have done honour to themselves.

ist sîn aber wert der,
sô habent si sîn beide êr.
man enweiz niht wer der frömde ist,

dâ von êr man in zaller frist.

swenn ze hove chumt ein fremder gast,
diu chint suln im dienen vast

sam er wære ir aller hêrre,

daz ist der zühte wille und lêre.

si sulen haben chiuschiu wort,
wan daz ist der zühte hort.

Ein frowe sol sich sehen lân,
chumt zir ein vremeder man.
swelihiu sich niht sehen lât,

diu sol ûz ir chemenât

sîn allenthalben unerchant;
büeze alsô, sî ungenant.

ein frowe sol niht vrevelîch
schimphen, daz stêt wîplîch.

ich wil ouch des verjehen,
ein frowe sol niht vaste an sehen
ein fremden man: daz stet wol.
ein edel junchêrre sol
beidiu ritter unde vrowen
gezogenlîche gerne schowen.
ein juncfrowe sol senfticlîch

und niht lût sprechen sicherlîch.
ein junchêrr sol sîn sô gereit

daz er vernem swaz man im seit,

sô daz ez undurft sî,
daz man im aber sage wî.

zuht wert den vrowen alln gemein
sitzen mit bein über bein.
ein junchêrr sol ûf ein banc,
si sî churz oder lanc,
deheine wîse stên niht,
ob er ein ritter dâ sitzen siht.
ein vrowe sol ze deheiner zît
treten weder vast noch wît.
wizzet daz ez ouch übel stet,
rîtt ein ritter dâ ein vrowe gêt.

But if he be worthy of it,
Then both parties are honoured.
One does not know who a stranger may be:
Therefore let him be honoured at all times.
When a strange guest comes to the Hall,
The young people shall do him great service,
The same as if he were the lord of all of them:
Such is the will and teaching of Good Breeding;
Let them speak choice words,
Seeing such is the treasure of Good Breeding.
A lady shall allow herself to be seen,
When a stranger-man comes to her:
She who does not allow herself to be seen,
She shall, out of her own withdrawing room,
Be unrecognized everywhere;
Let her thus suffer for it, let her not be mentioned.
Let not a lady jest boldly:
That looks as if she were a common woman.
This too I will maintain:
A woman shall not look much at
A stranger-man: that is befitting.
A noble young lord shall
Like to look modestly
Both upon knights and ladies.
A young lady shall assuredly speak softly
And not loud.
A young lord (younker) shall be so ready
That he understands what one says to him,
So that there may be no need
That one should for a second time say to him, how (to do it).
Good Breeding forbids all ladies
To sit with one leg over the other.
A young lord shall not step upon a bench
Be it short or long,
In any wise,
If he sees a knight sitting there.
A lady shall at no time
Step out fast nor wide.
Know again that it is ill befitting
If a knight rides where a lady goes.

ein vrowe sol sich, daz geloubet,
chêren gegen des pherdes houbet

swenn si rîtet; man sol wizzen,
si sol niht gar dwerhes sizzen.
ein ritter sol niht vrävelîch
zuo frowen rîten sicherlîch,
ein vrowe erschraht hât dick getân

den spruch der bezzer wær verlân.
swer sînem rosse des verhenget
daz ez eine vrowen besprenget,
ich wæne wol daz sîn wîb
ouch âne meisterschaft belîb.
zuht wert den rittern alln gemein
daz si niht dicke schowen ir bein,
swenn si rîtent; ich wæne wol
daz man ûf sehen sol.
ein vrowe sol recken niht ir hant,
swenn si rîtet für ir gewant;
si sol ir ougen und ir houbet

stille haben, daz geloubet.
ein junchêrr unde ein ritter sol
hie an sich ouch behüeten wol,
daz er stille habe die hant
sô im ze sprechen sî gewant:
er sol swingen niht sîn hende
wider eines frumen mannes zende.
swer der zühte wol geloubet,
der sol setzen ûf niemens houbet
sîn hant der tiurer sî denn er,

noch ûf sîn ahsel: daz ist êr.

Wil sich ein vrowe mit zuht bewarn,

sô sol si niht ân hülle varn;
si sol ir hüll ze samne hân,
ist si der garnæsch ân:
lât si amne lîbe iht sehen bar,

daz ist wider zühte gar.
ein rîter sol niht vor vrowen gên
barschincher, als ichz chan verstên.

ein vrowe sol niht hinder sich
dicke sehen, dunchet mich.
si gê vür sich gerihte
unde sehe umb ze nihte;
gedench an ir zuht über al

ob si gehœr deheinen schal.
ein juncfrowe sol selten iht

A lady shall, believe ye,
Turn herself towards the head of the horse
When she rides: one must know
She is not to sit quite crossways.
A knight shall not boldly
Ride up to ladies:
A woman, frightened, has often (done) uttered
The speech that were better not made.
He who allows his horse
To bespatter a lady,
I quite suppose that his wife
Is without a good master likewise.
Good Breeding forbids all knights
To look much at their legs
When they ride: I am much of opinion
That one is to look upwards.
A lady shall not stretch her hand
Out of her garment, when she rides;
She shall keep quiet her eyes and her head,
Believe ye that.
A younker and a knight shall
Be careful in this too,
That he keeps his hand quiet
If he has to speak:
He shall not swing his hands
Against a good man's teeth.
He who well believes in Good Breeding,
Let him place on no one's head
His hand, who is of greater account than himself,
Nor upon his shoulder: that is honourable.
If a lady wants to keep herself within good breeding,
Let her not go out without mantle;
She shall gather her mantle together
If she is without her long upper gown:
If she let any part of her body be seen bare
That is quite against Good Breeding.
A knight shall not go before ladies
With bare legs; as far as I can understand things.
A lady shall not much
Look behind her, so it appears to me:
Let her go forth straightways
And not look about her,
Everywhere mindful of her good breeding,
Even though she hear a noise.
A young lady shall rarely

sprechen, ob mans vrâget niht.
ein vrowe sol ouch niht sprechen vil,
ob si mir gelouben wil;
und benamen swenne si izzet,
sô sol si sprâchen niht, daz wizzet.
Man sol zem tische sich bewarn,
der mit zühte welle varn,

(ge dâ hœret grôziu zuht zuo):
ein ieglîch biderb wirt der tuo
war, ob si haben alle gnuoc.

der gast der sî sô gevuoc,
daz er tuo dem gelîche gar,
sam er dâ nihtes neme war.

swelch man sich rehte versinnet,
swenne er ezzen beginnet,
son rüer niht wan sîn ezzen an
mit der hant: dar ist wol getân.

man sol daz brôt ezzen niht
ê man bring d' êrsten riht.
ein man sol sich behüeten wol
daz er niht legen sol
beidenthalben in den munt.
er sol sich hüeten ze der stunt
daz er trinch und spreche niht
di wîl er hat in dem munde iht.
die mit dem becher ze den gesellen [1]

sich chêren als si in geben wellen,
ê si in tuon von den munden,
der win hât si dar zuo gebunden.
swer trinchende ûz dem becher siht,
daz zimpt hüfschen mannen niht.

ein man vor dem gesellen sîn

niht neme, daz ist diu lêre mîn,
daz im dâ gevalle wol,
wan er vor im ezzen sol.

man sol ezzen zaller frist
mit der hant diu engegen ist:

sitzt der gesell zer rehten hant,
so îz mit der linchen hant.
man sol ouch daz gerne wenden,
daz man iht ezz mit beiden henden.
man sol ouch dâ sô gâhen niht,

Speak anything, unless one ask her.
Nor shall a lady at all speak much,
If she will believe me;
And especially when she eats,
Then she shall not speak, that know.
One must be watchful over oneself
If one will bear oneself with Good Breeding
(For it is a matter of much breeding):
Let every honest host be
Careful whether they (*his guests*) have all of them enough;
Let the guest be so well disposed,
That he act similarly
As if he were aware of nothing (*supposing anything to have gone amiss*).
A man who is well balanced in his mind,
When he begins to eat,
He touches nothing but his food
With the hand: that is doing things well.
One must not eat the bread
Before the first dishes are brought.
A man shall be very careful
Not to put (*food*)
On both sides in his mouth.[1]
He shall at that time be on his guard
Lest he drink or speak
Whilst he has something in his mouth.
Those who turn with the beaker to their companions
As if they were about to give it,
Before they take it from their lips,
Them the wine has bound thereto,
Who, drinking, looks over the beaker (*does that which*) is not fitting for courteous men.
Let a man not take before his companions
Anything, that is my teaching,
Which may please him there;
For he (*the companion or guest*) shall eat before him.
One shall eat at any time
With that hand which is over against (*the guest*):
If the companion sit at your right hand,
Then eat with your left hand.
One shall also willingly avoid
To eat anything with both one's hands.
One shall also not be so greedy

[1] Babees Book, Pt. II. p. 29, l. 36, &c.

daz man mit dem gemazzen[1] iht
grîfe in die schüzzel mit der hant:
wan dâ von wirt unzuht bechant.

der wirt sol ouch der spîse enpern
der sîne geste niht engern
und diu in ist ungenæme,
wan daz niht wol zæme;
und geb ouch niht ungemeine.

der wolf izzet gerne eine:
der olbent izzet eine niht
ob er des wilds iht bî im siht.
dem volgt der wirt mit êren baz
dann dem wolve, wizzet daz.
der wirt nâch dem ezzen sol
daz wazzer geben: daz stêt wol.
dâ sol im dechein chneht
denne dwahen: daz ist reht;
wil dwahen im ein junchêrre,
der gê hin dan vil verre.

As, at the same time with one's companion,
To put one's hand into the dish:
For by that want of good breeding appears.
The host, again, shall go without such food
As his guests do not like,
And which is unpleasant to them,
As that is not well befitting;
And let him also give nothing apart (*for one*).
The wolf likes to eat by himself:
The camel[2] does not eat by himself,
If he sees any of the beasts near him.
Him follows the host with more honour
Than the wolf, know that.
The host, after dinner, shall
Hand the water: that befits him well.
Therein shall no page (?)
Then wash (*his hands*): that is right;
If a younker wants to wash,
Let him go far away.

We return to the summary, but give up from here the quotation of the old *résumé*, still, however, availing ourselves of it, extending or restricting it, as may seem best, and varying it by the introduction of passages.

III. v. 527—580. That one ought not to laugh too much, nor secretly spy out one's companion's doings; and that one ought to beware of him who likes thus to play the spy; and that one shall faithfully keep secret what one's companion tells one, and why one ought to do so, and that one is to be careful of whom, to whom, what, how, and when one speaks; and of what the children of lords are to beware.

IV. v. 581—686. That one is to speak little, and to listen much. Children are to be taught reverence. Thus made to feel reverence,

[1] *gunazzen?* Thus the Gotha MS., in M. Müller's book. Dr Rückert, following the Heidelberg MS., has *gesellen*, which is plain.

[2] *Olbente, olbende*, or, more rarely *olpent*, seems, etymologically, clearly *elephant*, ἐλέφας, αντος, with which compare Goth. *albendas*, O.H.G. *olpenta*, but is not used to designate this animal, but the camel.—*Grimm, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* 42. Yet, we find in *Müller & Zarncke's Mittelhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch* (whereof the leaves in the Brit. Mus. copy were first cut by the present writer), p. 437, two or three passages which seem plainly to point to the elephant.

they will be able to control themselves. Every child shall bear in his mind some pious (upright, reverential, and gentle, *frumen*) man, and shall think of him, so as to fancy that this pattern sees whatever the child may do ;—and who are to be obeyed, and that one is to have (good) habits at home, so as to bear oneself well at court ;—and that one is to preserve modesty ;—and that one is not to follow (the guidance) of envy and anger.

V. v. 687—777. That one is to beware of gambling ; and that he is thought a fool that speaks too much, and also he that is too silent ; and that no one is to do or to say all that comes to his mind, and that one is to speak and to act with sense ; and how foolish he is that in his childhood fancies he may know without teaching ; for

Der sin bescheidet einen man	Sense distinguishes a man
von dem vihe daz niht kan.	From the beasts that know nothing.

and that one ought willingly to hear good teaching, and to let the bad go.

VI. v. 773—880. How one cannot find a good pattern in Helen (" *der schoenen Küneginne diu wîlen da ze Kriechen was* "); and that a woman is not to be glad if another woman acts badly.

On the contrary :

da von ein biderbe wîp sol	A good woman ought
trûric sîn, tuot niht wol	To be sad, if badly acts
ein ander wîp.	Another woman.

and she had better look out for herself, that she may not get into the same way :

wan si sol ir vürhten hart
daz si niht kome in ir vart.

Let women rather take warning (lit. some sense) from the mishap of the woman who was called Helena.

In Greece over all the lands
She was a powerful queen.
She had much beauty and little sense,
Her beauty gained her great shame :
Beauty without sense is a weak security. 824-28

And what kind of sense a woman shall have, and what sense is enough for a woman ; a detail on which in these days of women's rights, colleges, examinations and so on, old Thomasin may be heard with some little additional interest, rather on the conservative side :

v. 837. A woman has enough sense
In that she be courteous and pliable,
And also have good gestures
With beautiful speech and a chaste mind.
If she then have more sense,
Let her have Good Breeding and Teaching,
Let her not make a show of what she has in her mind;
One does not require her for a Mayor.[1]
A man must have many arts:
In a noble woman Good Breeding requires
That she have not much artfulness,
If she is honest and noble.
Simplicity sits well upon women,
Yet it is right that a woman
Have that teaching and that sense
That she may beware of un-love.
One often calls Love the thing
That one had better call Un-love. 854

That beauty, friends, birth, riches, love (or loveliness?) are worthless without sense; and that Beauty may do harm to honour; and that Beauty and lightheadedness (lit. nonsense, *unsinn*) are two girdles on a woman's body (?)[2] which draw her the wrong way.

diu schœne macht daz man si bite,
sô hilfet der unsin vast dâ mite
daz er ræt der vrouwen wol
ze tuon daz si niht tuon sol.

The beauty causes her to be solicited,
And the nonsense greatly helps there-
To advise the woman [with
To do what she ought not to do.[3]

VII. v. 881-994. That one is not to give away honour for beauty; or with a view to be made beautiful for ever:

Durch boesen Kouf ze Markte gât
Swer umbe schoen sîn êre lât,

He makes a bad bargain
Who gives his honour for beauty;

and that beauty is dishonoured without discipline.

Every kind of malice has its gestures (or outward appearance).

(Yet) one is deceived by appearances; seeing deceives vastly, in both women and men [*am sehen triuget man sich dicke*, 939].

beidiu man und ouch wîp
erzeigent oft daz in ir lîp
und in ir herzen niender ist:
daz machet gar ir bœser list.

Both man, and also woman,
Often show that which in their bodies
And in their hearts is nowhere:
That is caused by their wicked cunning.

[1] *ze potestât.* The author thinks of the Italian *podesta*, as chief municipal magistrate or mayor; one of the few passages by which he betrays his origin.

[2] *Gebende:* ornaments, head-dresses, according to Wackernagel, *Edelsteine;* neither gives a satisfactory sense. The word Ge-bend-e points to the verb *bind.*

[3] v. 877-86.

A wicked woman's beauty is not to be considered as beauty, is only skin-beauty; she is but like gilt copper, a baser metal.

daz an im lützel goldes hat
under schoener vel ist valscher rât.
man sol wizzen daz valsche liut
hâut nîht mêr schoene wan ir hiute.

. . . wherein there is little gold.
Under a fine skin, bad counsel.
One must know that false people
Have not more beauty than is in their skins.

Some virtues sit better upon women than upon Knights, and some sit well upon Knights, and some vices ("un-virtues") sit worse upon women, and some worse upon Knights.

In the detail of this there seems some arbitrariness:

One gets poisoned in honey even
When the sweetness is meant to betray us.
The tongue of false women is honey,
Their will is venom, know that, Christian.
Falseness befits no one well:
A woman (however) shall guard
Against Falseness more than a man;
Falseness sits worse upon women.
Thus mildness is befitting for all people
Every woman shall be mild;
Yet mildness befits Knights better
Than ladies, know ye that.
Humility befits both well:
A Knight and a lady shall
Be humble-minded; yet befits humbleness
The ladies better, and their goodness
Shall be ornamented with that virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
The Knight, piety (vrümkeit) befits well;
The ladies, faithfulness and truth.
The Knight, if timid, is dishonoured;
So is a false woman equally fallen (desecrated away from her station, annihilated)
The crafty Knight is quite without honour,
The stupid woman is without good teaching.
Archness befits not the Knight:
A lady shall be on her guard against unsteadiness
And against unfaithfulness,
And against haughtiness, that is good.
If she have not these virtues in her,
Her beauty is quite desecrated.

VIII. v. 995—1162. Of the snares of the fools; and who is a

good wife; and what young gentlewomen and younkers like to be told; and whom they are to follow; and what those are to hear and to read who have come out of childhood,—romantic poems [1]—*aventures*—are good for the young and the little-cultivated, as are pictures. But those whose minds are more developed, or literally *who have come to their senses*, they are to be taught (lit. mastered) differently from children; and that an eloquent (lit. well-speaking) man shall not depart from truth.

IX. v. 1163—1337. I have travelled away from my aim, and have said things that I should not have said but for the young people. I should yet have liked to speak of Knights and ladies, as I have done formerly in a book on Courtesy which I wrote in Italian."

Of what nature is love.

Der minn natûre ist sô getân:	This is the nature of love:
si machet wîser wîsen man,	It makes a wise man wiser,
und gît dem tôrn mêr närrischeit,	And gives the fool more foolishness,
daz ist der minne gewonheit.	That is love's custom.[2]

How one is to guard a wife; and one is neither to gain her by magic, nor force her, nor buy her;[3]

HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

I taught (in the lost Italian book) that one
Ought to conquer one's wife with (good things) kind acts;
That she should be steadfast (staete) to one.
He who locks her up alone
He dispenses quite with her service.
Now tell me, of what good is it,
That I lock up her body,
If then her will is not as it should be?
No lock will keep the mind:
The Body without the heart is a feeble possession:
Locks create great hatred:

[1] Here, v. 1029-78 is introduced a list of legendary names, the subjects either of well-known French and German poems, or mentioned in some of these; and in some cases perhaps the titles of books that are lost. The list, beginning with Andromache, who is not known to have given the title to any substantive poem, finishes with a pæan in honour of Percival. Some passages in this are difficult and obscure. H. Rückert, 528—32.

[2] V. 1179-82.

[3] Vide W. Humboldt, Sphere and Duties of Government, p. 31, seq., on Matrimony and Love.

Kind actions act as a better safeguard.
Love, gained by magic and by force,
And bought love, are no love.
He who has had recourse to magic,
Know ye that he has violated
Her whom he has loved by such means;
He has the (manners) ways of an uncourteous man.
He has quite an uncourteous mind
Who does violence to women.

that bought love is not love;—

swer mit hüfscheit niht werven kan,
der wirt billich ein koufman.
gekouft minn hât niht minne kraft:

He who cannot woo with courtesy,
Let him properly become a tradesman.
Bought love has not the power of love.

that love would be a serf (*eigen*) if one were to buy it; and that it is to be free. And what one is to give through love:

One shall give heart for heart,
One shall with faith give faith,
With love (*liebe*, not *minne*) one shall gain love.
One shall with steadiness confirm
Steadiness and truth.[1]

and that the gift does not mend what is evil.

That a man gives to her who makes a fool of him;—that a man gives (will give) to her who herself has enough, and not give to her who has nothing.

A fool sees what ornaments a woman has outside on her body, the wise man sees what are the ornaments of her soul;—the following goes again into the direction of woman's right, and this time on the side of our reformers. That a man shall not deny a woman her possessions (*guot*). On this subject our author expresses himself briefly but pithily:

Ich lêrt daz dehein biderbe man
niht enkêr sînn muot dar an
daz er abe sprîcht eim wîbe ir guot.
wan swelch wîp daz getuot,
ez stât ir vil bœslîche:
doch stât es wirser ungelîche
einem man, daz sult ir glouben.
wizzt daz ich gerner wolde rouben.

I taught (again in the lost Italian book) that no upright man
Should turn his mind to
Denying a woman her goods.
If any woman does such a thing
It befits her very ill:
But incomparably more ill does it befit
A man: that you shall believe.
Know ye that I sooner would rob on the highways.[2]

[1] v. 1251-56.

[2] v. 1330-37.

What a woman may take from her friend:

Ich lêrt waz einer vrouwen zeme	I taught (before) what it was fit for a woman
daz si von ir vriunde neme:	To take from her friend:
hantschuoch, spiegel, vingerlîn,	Gloves, looking-glass,[1] finger-ring,
vürspangel, schapel, blüemelîn.	Brooch, hat, flowers.
ein vrouwe sol sîn wol behuot	A woman must be well on her guard
daz si niht neme grœzer guot,	Not to take anything of greater value,
ezn wær daz sis bedorfte wol:	Unless she be in want of it:
so erloube ich ir dan daz si sol	In that case I allow her to
nemen mêre und niht sô vil,	Take more, yet not too much.
sin erzeige wol daz si wil	Let her plainly show that she feels
daz ir der vriunt sî vür daz guot,	The friend to be of more value than the present,
wan anders hiet si valschen muot.	Otherwise she has a false spirit.
ob ir ze nemen iht geschiht	But if it happen to her to take
mêr, bedarf sis danne niht,	More, though she do not want it,
ir ist der vriunt niht liep gar,	Then she really does not care for the friend,
daz sol man wizzen wol vür wâr.	That ye shall know.[2]

That wives shall be steady to their husbands;—likewise a husband shall not care for another's wife; (the motive adduced is, however, not very lofty:)

ja ensol er sich niht kêren an	Nay, he shall not care for
ander wîp; swer eine hât,	Another wife; he who has one
der mac der andern haben rât.	May do without another.

"What I, however, most like in women, is that they be truthful:"

Mir was ie liep der vrouwen êre;	To me the honour of the ladies was ever dear;
kund ich iht daz in nütze wære,	If I knew aught that would be of use to them,
ich kêrt ez gerne an ir dienest.	I should willingly apply it in their service.
mir ist an einer vrowen ez liebest	What I like best in a woman is
daz si vor valsche sî behuot.	That she guard herself against falseness.
valsch kêrt minn zunminne, unde guot	Falseness turns love into un-love, and good

[1] Be it not forgotten that this trait of manners is found in the 13th century: can, in the face of this, the common tradition be upheld, that the introduction of looking-glasses into England took place in the reign of Elizabeth only? And how about the looking-glass Richard II. makes use of in Shakspeare's play? of course, the incident may be introduced by the poet, and without historical foundation. Compare also a remark of Mr Rossetti's, on page 5 of his Essay, on the advance of refinement in Italy, as compared with other countries.

[2] v. 1338-52.

ze übelen dingen, und daz wîse
ze swarzem mit al sînem vlîze.
ze bitter gall kêrt valsch die süeze

und ze ungnâdn ir schœne grüeze.
lüge ir geheiz, ir senfte ist zorn,

ir lachen weinn, ir linde dorn.

Into evil things, and the white
Into black, with all diligence.
Into bitter gall turns falseness the sweet,
And into disfavour her fine greetings.
Into lie her orders, her gentleness into anger,
Her laughing into weeping, her softness into thorns.[1]

An upright wife shall not allow her body to be touched; and no man shall do it;—nor shall a man who understands courtesy invite an upright wife; nor solicit her (concerning which matter our author is rather prolix, showing among others the evil effect which such solicitations have in making women vain). But she is mistaken in fancying herself so very excellent: lying in her bed she thinks, such a one has done so much for my sake, another has woo'd me still more; I know as a truth that I am beautiful and a dear creature, since these gentlemen, of so much standing, turn their love to me, with all their hearts and their minds. This is a mistake:

dar umbe sagich iu vür wâr
daz diu vrouwe ist betrogen gar
diuz vür êre haben wil
daz man si bite des dinges vil.
ich hânz iu nu genuoc geseit,
man tuotz niht durch ir werdekeit,
ave dâ von daz si hât den muot
daz man weiz daz siz gerne tuot.

Therefore I truly tell you:
That woman is wholly deceived
Who fancies it an honour
If she be much solicited.
I have now sufficiently told you,
Men do not do it from her worth,
But because she has such a spirit
That one knows she willingly does it.[2]

The King's treasure, which thieves know to be well guarded, is not attacked; the poorer house, unguarded, invites the ill-doer. So does an inviting woman; and a man having conquered the undefended beauty, goes to others.

XI. v. 1513—1706. How one can know what an old woman's disposition was in her youth (a section which forms a good counterpart to Béranger's wicked song of the Grandmamma). How one is to act by a lady whom one cannot gain. One is in kindness to leave her; scolding will not win her, and is shameful to a man, who by so doing turns her spirit against him. "Of falseness I have said a deal (ein teil), more about it may be found in my Italian book; I wrote it in honour of a lady who asked me for it. There

[1] V. 1371-84. [2] V. 1435-45.

ich lêrte wie ein vrouwe solde
diu sich gern bewaren wolde
erkenn die valschen minnære.
ich lêrte mangen schœnen list,
daz man baz sîn êre vrist
vor den valschen ungetriuwen.

I have taught how a lady,
Who would guard against mischief,
Should know false lovers.
I taught many a pretty art
How one can the better keep one's honour
Against the false and faithless ones."

Against rash marriages. That a woman shall know to whom she entrusts (lit. recommends) her heart and body; and that this is more important than to whom she entrusts her worldly goods:

Man sol den man erkennen wol
dem man sîn herze enphelhen sol.
jâ sol wizzen ein biderbe wîp
wem si enphelhen welle ir lîp;
wan si ouch lîht wizzen wolde
wem si ir guot enphelhen solde.

One shall know well the man
To whom one is to entrust one's heart.
Well shall an upright woman know
To whom she wishes to entrust her body,—
Even though she should know but little
To whom she were to entrust her goods.[1]

So shall likewise a man guard himself against an undesirable woman (*unvertigen* = whose ways are not the best; in modern German the word (*unfertig*) would mean, if used in this connection, *incomplete*, so that we seem enjoined to marry paragons only).

unvertigiu wîp und diebe
die sint mir geliche liebe.
ein biderbe man sol hân den muot,
bewar vor dieben sîn guot,
und vor dem unvertigen wîp
bewar noch harter sînen lîp.

Loose women and thieves
Are to me of equal worth.
Let an upright man have the courage
To guard his goods against thieves;
And to guard still more his body
Against a loose woman.

A lady may love him whom she has known to be good. One of her own station is preferable; but should he not be so, let her make sure that he is upright and good; then she may do it (love him). Contrariwise, noble birth and riches must not weigh with her if he is not good. Let her not make the mistake of preferring a seemingly easy-going but foolish person to a wise man:

Ein wîp gedenket lîhte daz
mir wirt mit einem tôren baz
dan mit einem wîsen man
der allez daz merken kan
daz ich tuon ode sprich.
mit den gedanken triugt si sich.
ein wîs man übersiht vil
des ein tôr niht übersehen wil

A woman easily thinks thus:
'I shall be better off with a fool
Than with a wise man
Who may (observe) mark everything
I do or say.'
With such thoughts she deceives herself:
A wise man overlooks much
That a fool will not overlook

[1] v. 1579-84.

und niht übersehen kan.	And cannot overlook.
wizzt daz der unwîse man	Know that the unwise man
der verkêret aller slaht,	Turns everything into evil,
sô hât der wîs die meisterschaft	Whilst the wise man possesses the mastery
daz erz allez kêrt ze guot.	Of turning everything into good.[1]

Let not a woman leave the path of duty in hopes that nothing will be said about it, or that if said, it will not be believed. Let no man try to further his suit to a lady, by dispraising another whom she may favour, or by praising himself: the former is uncourteous; fools can do the latter. Besides, dispraising another suitor is blaming her who has seen a friend in him.

"I have taught what virtue was to be cultivated by women, and how a noble Knight was to act to make himself pleasant, and what was fitting for women, and what they should occupy themselves with, how to bear themselves, how to speak to old ones as well as to young;—(all) this I said in Welhish (Italian?), and were I to say it in German, I might not say it so (well) easily.

I will now return to my matter in hand, and speak of gentlemen, and how they are to tend their virtues, for he who does not do so, his virtue is as good as lost. And so

Ich hân verent daz êrste teil:	I have ended the first part:
got gebe uns zuo dem andern heil!	God give us grace for the second!"

BOOK II.

treats of Steadiness, then of Unsteadiness, shows the harmony existing in things above man,—the steadiness of the heavenly bodies, —the action of the elements, — and the unsteadiness of nations and kings. The end of the world is coming.

BOOK III.

continues the picture of the unsteadiness of man, and treats of Riches and Poverty, of Glory, Dominion, Power, Nobility, and Name.

1. Whence we are so unsteady, and why God does not prevent us from being so.

2. Everything in nature is steady, only man's heart is not so. Each one strives after the position of the other, instead of filling his

[1] v. 1606-19.

own. How strange if the dog would draw the cart, and the ox hunt the hare. But they are not so foolish: men are.

3. That our lots are well portioned out, and the poor are not worse off than the rich; and what both are in want of, is Truth, and what they fancy their wants to be; and of the great trouble men take to get what is not for their good; and how they must leave it all behind in the end.

4. That the good things of this world do not make a man good; and that riches do us more harm than good, and a good many kindred considerations.

5. How the poor man worries himself with the thought of how he might become rich, and what he would do then, and how this is apt to make him mean and of low cunning, and what castles in the air he builds;—and that riches are a trouble both to get and to keep.

6. That the people are better off than the lords, and that it is foolish for every one to wish to be a lord. And how the lord is encumbered with care.

7. Of the foolish ideas and plans people make themselves as to what they would do if they were lords; and how, not having the realities, they plague themselves with their fancies. Their imaginary hunting and hawking parties, and how they awake disenchanted.

8. That the powerful are not better than the powerless, and that the powerful are worse off; and how they for ever scheme how to bring others into subjection, and that they never succeed to their heart's desire. And that all power is most unsteady, as many examples from ancient history and contemporaneous events prove. And the power of the powerful depends really on the powerless. Thus Riches, Lordship, and Sovereign power cannot give satisfaction to men.

9. Of the foolish and criminal thoughts of him who dreams of gathering a great army and slaying his enemies.

10. Of the frivolity of glory, of a desire to spread one's name, and of gathering praises; and of people who praise you to your face, and slander you behind your back. And that good things are not done by desire of glory, and how greed of fame encumbers a man; and of his foolish dreams.

11. Of nobility, and its obligations; and what real nobility is; and that we are all God's children by birth, and those who remain so are really noble.

12. On various desires, which various men have: Play, the pleasures of the Table, Hawking, Lying in one's Inn, Hunting, Women; and how all these give us much trouble both whilst we are engaged with them; and, when not possessing them, whilst we dream of them.

BOOK IV.

1. On Riches, Dominion, Power, Name, Nobility and Desire, as connected with Unsteadiness. These need not trouble us if we do not wish to serve Un-virtue.

2 & 3. On Steadiness; definition.[1] A few virtuous acts do not make a virtuous man. Various subdivisions of this matter. The good man turns whatever befalls him into good, the bad man to evil. Thus the bad man, if he becomes rich, is uncharitable.[2]

4. Why God permits a bad man to do harm to a good one; and how it can be right that the devil is powerful.

5. Why evil sometimes befalls the good man, whilst it goes well with the bad one.

6. No one can penetrate God's decrees, and what he does is done well.

7. Let the good man fear nothing, and not care how long, but how, he lives.

8. On the death of friends, which is to be regretted, but with moderation. On the death of married people, and on second marriage, not too hastily to be entered into; and on chastity during widowhood. On secret transgressions.

9. Whether one shall recognize one's friends in the world to come.

BOOK V.

1. Division of things into good, evil, and neutral.

2. The *Summum Bonum*, and the way to it.

[1] V. 4345-62. [2] V. 4391-4400.

3. What attracts us to the highest good, and how the devil tries to drag us down the ladder again, using six hooks, called Riches, Power, Nobility, Name, Desire, Dominion.

4. No one comes to God but by virtue. No one possesses virtue entirely but God. A picture of such as have gone to hell through vice. On the error of redeeming sin through almsgiving; and that it is not possible for the rich to gain more in the eyes of God than the poor. Of the emperors Constantine and Julian who burn in hell.

5. On unjust lords. That an unjust ruler is an illegitimate one.[1] Of the good old times, and that it is the fault of the lords that the times have become worse. Good knights are concealed, let the rulers find them.

6. The priests, too, were better in olden times. And the good among them now are not honoured as they used to be. Wise people are to be beloved, and the lords are to help those who wish to learn, and so are the bishops; and why they do not do so, and how great genius is allowed to run to waste through poverty.

7. Why art and knowledge are not acceptable: with something more on the neglect of learning. We are too much taken up by the desire of gain, and by the idea that the richer is the better man. And this again is the fault of the lords. Idleness leads to vice; and those lords that are responsible for the neglect of learning will fare worse even than we. And some more about hell. On pitch and sulphur abounding there; also of the chains and baths which they use in that place. And how, in defence, a chain of virtues may be prepared, and a bath hot with goodness.

BOOK VI.

1. To be steadfast in virtue, which, notwithstanding many drawbacks, ultimately gains the day. Examples of men who, by their virtue, brought great honour on God, even in their lifetimes, such as Bias, Job, Joseph, Moses, and David.

2. We ought to praise a good man, but the praise of the unwise

[1] V. 6253-80.

is worthless. Of heartless rich men and usurers. On bringing one's children up to being merciful.

3. Of gentleness, and of anger, arrogance, envy, and unchastity, as sources of sorrow. Of robbers and thieves.

4. Mild men are more rarely injured than heartless ones. Malice comes from cowardice. Of the necessity of a pious knight waging war against the vices; and details of this warring, in which the Devil and the World and Desire help the Vices. Four troops of Vices and their order of battle.

5. Exhortation to knights and to priests. Of the duty of lords to those who are submitted to them, and how we ask our inferiors often to do both good and evil, whilst God asks us to do good only. Of our duties towards our friends.

6. Against wicked counsellors, the devil's whetstone and net. Dangers of greediness. Good cheer in poverty. On the necessity of faith in God's judgments. And some more about hell, whither hasten both priests and laymen.

BOOK VII.

1. Of the soul, and of its relations with the body, and its superiority to it.

2. Of the mind being tuned either to good or bad things; and some more of the misdoings of priests and knights, and also of greedy judges. Of the four powers: Imagination, Memory, Reasoning power, and Intellect.

3. Of the Arts. None is so little that one could know it wholly. Of the seven arts, and who were the best masters in each.

4. Of Theology and Medicine.

5. Of the decrease of learning. Exhortation to parents.

6. Of the five doors of the soul. The five senses as the servants of the four powers (vid. above, 2).

7. The soul in the body, as a king in his land.

8. Resuming the remarks on the powers of the body and soul, and their application.

BOOK VIII.

1. Un-Steadiness has a sister: Immoderation, who is also the mes-

senger of Foolishness, and playfellow of Drunkenness. Definition and illustrations.

2. By Immoderation Virtue becomes Un-virtue.[1]

3. How by Moderation, Un-virtue may be changed into Virtue.

4. No good thing is immoderate. On Moderation in prayer, in church-going, and in fasting.

5. Moderation in speech, laughing, sleeping, waking, weapons, and dress. Examples of men who were wanting in moderation, and came to grief accordingly.

6. Further examples of contemporaries who have come to grief by arrogance and immoderation, King John of England among them, and of others that have risen through humility.

7. Continues examples, taking them from olden times.

8. Of the fall of arrogant people. Of Disobedience to rulers, and of bad government. Examples of unruliness. Of the authority of the Pope (whom we scold at all times, though he is given to us a master by God).[2] Exhortation to continue the Crusade, and censure of those poets who mislead people from this aim, by other songs; on the high mission of poets.[3] On heretics.[4]

9. Appeal to the German Knighthood to enter on a new Crusade.

10. The same to the German princes and to King Frederic (Emperor Frederic II.); much of this a paraphrase of Innocent III.'s Bull on the subject.

11. Return from this digression. Some more on arrogance, and the various ways by which it brings men to fall. Against malice, envy, and perjury.

BOOK IX.

"Here I make a little preface, and say how my pen complains against writing too much, and what answer I make, and then I begin my book." This little preface or episode we shall presently quote in full. The rest of this book is devoted to the consideration of Justice and the duties of judges, and

[1] *On a les défauts de ses qualités.*
[2] V. 11090-145.
[3] V. 11201-25; vide above, page 89.
[4] Vide p. 97-100.

treats of Mildness, Liberality, and Kindness; and winds up the subject, the author taking leave of his readers, and addressing his book as he sends it into the world.

Before we ourselves take leave of gentle and good Thomasin, we append a few further detached extracts from the last nine books, with which we did not wish to break the summary, and which we have thus reserved as a *bonne bouche:*

IS LEARNING CONDUCIVE TO MORALITY?

He who injures the mind of his child, 9291
By (false) economy and by (desire of) gain,
In not sending him to school
Nor to court, know ye that he turns
His profit into a great loss. 9295
If one leaves to his child not sense,
And leaves him riches, he knows not well
What he is to do with them.
Maybe that an unwise man
Who knows nothing at all or but little, 9300
Nor, in consequence of his laziness, wishes to learn,
Offers speech like the following:
He answers me that
The un-learned act better
Than he who is a good scholar, 9305
And does not do as he ought.
The priest who has got good learning
Is hankering, just like unlearned people,
After wicked things and sin,
And making gains at all times. 9310
"Why then should we learn anything,
Since we see that such things happen?"
I will give him an answer
To his speech, with one word:
Doest thou fancy, that he who can read decently 9315
Is therefore a learned man?
Truly there is a goodly number of priests,
I really mean to assure you of that,
Who read that they may see what is written,
And yet may never succeed 9320
In understanding the writing.
Thus it happens to a peasant
Who goes to church

And stands in front of the pictures:
Although he sees the painting,
Yet what it means he knows not;
He does not know what the picture signifies:
Understanding is not such a common thing.
How then wilt thou, that he
Should know better than another
What he is to do, if he can understand
Nothing at all of what is the meaning of the writing?[1]
Now let us assume that he is really learned,
Cannot you take a like case
In the well-instructed physician,
Who greatly craves after unwholesome food
And yet knows that it will injure him,
But follows his greediness:
Thus perchance acts a man
Who can well understand the writings,
And whom yet his lechery draws
Into that whereby he gains trouble and sorrow.
(Yet) the art is to be held dear by us:
The physician can with his physic
Restore his health
If at any hour he fall sick.
If a man falls into a ditch, know ye
That he comes out of it better
If he has sight than if he has none.
Just so it fares with him
Who is really learned: if he do sin,
He thinks of it at another hour
That he may again do good,
And comes back again to the Commandments.
. . . . . .
Rarely an unlearned man doeth that.

PROPER MOURNING FOR A FRIEND.

Ich wil iu sagen daz ich wil
daz man sîn vriunt niht klage vil,

doch sol man niht ân klage lân
sîne vriunt von hinne gân.
. . . . . .

Swie ich daz gesprochen hân,
daz man schier lâz sîn vriunde gân,

man solz alsô verstên niht,

I will tell you that I wish
A man not to bewail much the loss of a friend;

Yet one shall not let
One's friend go hence without mourning.[2]

As I have said
That one is to leave one's friends to depart,

You must not understand

[1] The question, thus put, is still practical. See the excellent pamphlet: 'An exaggerated estimate of the value of reading and writing,' by Dr Hodgson. 1868.

[2] V. 5579-82.

swelhem man lîht dâz geschiht
daz er sînn vriunt verlorn hât,
daz er habe sô tœrschen rât
daz er zehant var unde spil :
wan tæt er daz, des wær ze vil.
er mac die bluomen lâzen sîn
ein wîle, deist der rât min :
im stêt niht wol der bluomen kranz.

er sol ouch mîden gern den tanz,
den buhurt und daz seitespil,
daz ist daz ich râten wil.

That he to whom perchance it happens
To lose his friend,
Should be so foolishly advised
As to go off straightways to sport :
If he did so, it would be too much.
He may leave flowers alone
Awhile, that is my advice :
The wreath of flowers sits not well upon him.

Let him also avoid dancing,
Tournaments and music,
That is what I wish to counsel.[1]

MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Ein arzât der wol erzen kan,
der erzent dicke einn siechen man
mit durst, mit hunger und mit prant.

er bint in ûf zuo einer want,
er snîdet und stichet in vil hart.

eim andern rouft er sînen bart
und sîn hâr, wan er wil
daz er niht enslâf ze vil.

A physician who can cure well,
He cures vigorously a sick man
With thirst, with hunger, and with burning.

He ties him up against a wall,
He cuts and pricks him a very great deal.

He tears another's beard
And hair when he desires
Him not to sleep too much.[2]

SWEET SIN.

Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht
genennen tiusche, swenn daz geschiht
daz sîn ein schâf izzt, ez ist tôt,
und ist dem schâf doch harte nôt
nâch dem selben krût : sîn suoz
machet daz ez sterben muoz.
al daz selbe uns geschiht :

There is a shrub that I cannot
Name in German, if it happen
That a sheep eat of it, she dies.
And yet that sheep has a great longing
After that same shrub : its sweetness
Is the cause of her death.
Just so it happens to us.[3]

ON MODERATION IN BLAZONRY.

If one, having in his shield
Roses, would also
Take the very flowers from the fields
Into his shield,[4]
That would seem to me extravagant.
The same I will tell you
Of one, who having in his shield the sun,
Should bethink himself of having also
The stars, and moreover the moon
And the sky, it would be strange :
It would, whatever he might urge, be quite over-much.[5]

[1] V. 5591-605. [2] V. 5089-96. [3] V. 14087-93.

[4] N.B. *Crest* is not the word. It really refers to the ornament on the helmet. What is meant here, is the ornament in the *shield* itself, not in the imitation of it with which heraldry deals.

[5] Those who are familiar with modern Austrian dialects, may be amused

Truly I will tell you
What one sees in a man's exterior
Is not without significance,
Since it points at all times
To that which is within.
By one's weapons and by one's dress
One's heart is greatly known.
I will tell you, if a man
Can with uprightness and gentleness bring it about
That one cares more for him
Than for his weapons and arms, that is good.
As to what he has in his shield,
If he is upright in the field,
I care for it the more,
You may believe me in that.
Yet shall one have measure in these things:
It would seem to me not well done,
If a man were to have the sea-dogs (?) [1]
And would therefore paint
On his weapons the monsters of the sea,
And the fishes below.
If one bears a boar
On his shield, let him guard
Against having a swine-herd,
For that would look ill, that is true.
He who wants to bear a dog,
Let him not embellish the matter
So as to bring in the very hunt:
Let not his work be such.
If one were to bear a wolf,
How would it look if he wished
To have in his field
The she-wolf and the whelps?
One cannot praise it
In him to whom such a thing happens.

OF A JUDGE WHO DOES NOT ENJOY SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY.

Should there be a lord who has not
That power in his judgment seat
Which he justly ought to have
If people were (properly) submissive to him,

in finding here a very characteristic expletive, difficult of translation in all cases, and which we hardly would have expected to meet with in grave Thomasin:

sîn waere *halt* gar ze vil.

[1] The passage is doubtful: the MSS. vary. The word may refer to something like those waving lines which, on Sicilian coins, indicate the sea.

Let him do like the eagle,
That ye may truly believe.
When the eagle has come to be aged
He flies then so high
That the sun sets on fire
His wings, that is true;
Then he leaves the sun,
And lets himself fall down into a well,
And thus renews himself,
That he becomes new, whole and gladsome.
Thus a lord ought to act:
If he cannot well control
His people and lands,
Let him raise himself at once
Towards God with humility,
With prayer, and with kindness,
That He may help him to judge well,
And so do that which he is to do.
When he has done so,
Then he is to let himself down
To his work, and at once
Justly judge his land.
Let him not be out of spirits
For what people may say or do to him,
For all that will be well disposed of,
If he has that piety and gentleness
That he desires
To accomplish his duty.

If this extract gives a curious instance of free handling of the ancient mythological tradition of the phœnix, the following may show in what manner our author treats a bit of the historical legends of antiquity:

OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO.

Ein stat gevangen wart
von ir vînden, dô vluhen hart
die man in der stat vant:
si truogen phenninge unde gewant.
dô was ein man under in,
der het den wîstuom unde den sin
daz er niht wolde tragen:
die andern vuoren gar geladen.
einer vreite in zwiu er tæte daz.
dô antwurte er im baz
danner vrâgte: er sprach 'mîn muot
treit mîn phenninge und mîn guot.'
er meinte sîne tugent dermite,

A town was captured
By her enemies, then fled hastily
Those that were found in the town:
They bore money and dresses.
There was a man among them
Who had the wisdom and the sense
Not to wish to bear (away) anything:
The others were heavily laden.
Some one asked him why he did so.
Then he answered him well
His question: he said, 'My spirit
Is my money and my goods.'
He meant thereby his virtue,

sînen wîstuom und sîn schœne site :	His wisdom, and his fair manners.
daz was doch ir aller spot.	Yet that was (an object of) mockery to all of them.
dô reit nâch des herren bot	Then rode after them men sent by the lord
der die stat hete behert	Who had besieged the town,
und viengens alle an der vert,	And they caught them all on their way,
wan si wârn geladen hart.	Since they were heavily laden.
der ein der niht truoc an der vart,	The one who bore nothing on his road
der was ringe und kom wol hin,	He was light of foot, and got well off.
wan wîstuom, tugende unde sin	Thus wisdom, virtue, and sense
müezen ze jungest brechen vür,	Must at the end break forth
swie lange si sîn vor der tür.	However long they be before the door.[1]

We must forbear the temptation to quote a fable of the Ass and the Wolf, very prettily told at some length and with great amplitude of moralities annexed : our readers will perhaps, by this time, care sufficiently for their Thomasin, to look it out in Max Müller's 'German Classics,' page 207-11, where a translation into modern German is given. And we conclude with this characteristic Dialogue, mentioned above, between the Author and his Pen.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND HIS PEN.

"Let me rest, since it is time,"	12223
Speaks my pen ; "he who never gives	
To his own servant	12225
Rest, he greatly wrongs him.	
So have I—this is true—	
Served you this whole winter,	
That you never allowed me to remain (still) :	
I had to write day and night.	12230
You have quite slit my mouth,	
Since for more than ten hours	
A day you used to mend[2] and cut me.	
How could I suffer that so long ?	
You cut me now large now small,	12235
And have made me common	
By writing about masters and servants.	
You do me great wrong.	
When you used to keep up good manners	

[1] V. 6817-40.

[2] *Tempern. Il temperino* = the penknife.—Müller and Zarncke, T. iii. p. 29, certainly give the word in several other passages from other writers, and other words derived from the same root, but in all of them it has the meaning of *properly mixing*, and the like ; none remind us, as our passage does, of the tempering of steel. Here we have one of the few instances in which the expression betrays our author's Italian origin.

I very much liked to be with you.
When you with knights and ladies
Used to attend tournaments and dances,
Then I liked exceedingly to be near you :
When you—believe me that [1]—
Would be at court
Amongst the people, then was my
Belief that I was better
By you than elsewhere ; but you know
Now you have discontinued (all) that,
And have given up that (sort of) thing,
And thrown yourself quite backwards.
I have gained nothing by that,
Since I must write all day long :
Know that I won't stand it.
You have become a hermit.
Whilst you were at College,
You did not give me so much trouble.
Your door is (now) barred all day :
Say on, what has happened to you ?
You have no wish to see ladies or knights.
I am troubled beyond measure by your light,
Which you burn all night long.
If you mean in one year
To write and eke put into verse
What you have in you to write,
I have no wish to remain with you.
He who gives himself up to poetry
Must become quite undone,
Seeing he altogether loses himself
With thoughts, that is true."

To which remonstrance the Pen receives this answer :

" Leave your complaint, complain not so much,
And hear what I will tell you.
If I had taken to poetry
From a desire to kill time, I should not have got
In four years to where I am,
Unless I am much mistaken
You know well that I speak truth.
In eight months have I quite
Finished the eight parts
(Not without much night-watching on your side also),
And I am to make two more of them :
So you must do still two months' watching.
With that, observe that my poetizing

[1] This line is obscure in the original.

Is no amusement to me at all.
I might get out of it something like five years
Of amusement, that is true,
If I had taken to it for amusement.
As it is, I have taken it up
From necessity, as I see well
That people never do as they ought.
Therefore have I put aside
What I otherwise should have done,
As I must absolutely speak out
What to be silent about troubled me much,
You say that he becomes undone
Who gives himself to poetry:
If people had not in olden times
Been thus undone, there
Would not have been so many good men
As we read of in books.
And we should now be quite undone
If we did not find written that
Wherein a man may take a model and meaning.
I have become aware of one thing,
That one gets quite lost in thought
Whilst one poetizes, that is true,
So that one can hardly bear oneself properly
Whilst one is thinking much of it.
But when it has all come out
And one has in good time returned to oneself,
One may yet bear oneself better
Than one did before, know you that.
If my door is barred for a while,
That must not disturb (you) too much,
Since in a (secluded) corner one must
Make a foot for a poem,
That in aftertimes it may run
In the wide, wide world.
I am exceedingly desirous of seeing
Both knights and ladies,
Yet methinks it is well done
That I should miss their company for a while,
In the words that I speak
(And) that are to be for the good of both.
He has not good counsel
Who, having served much and well,
Would for the sake of one small service,
Lose what he has served for well.
Thus I speak for your sake:
You have with your service gained me;

But if now you will leave me,
Then what you have done is lost.
I have of Unsteadiness,
With your help, said much,
(Also) of Steadiness and Measure;
Wild-conduct (lit. Unmeasure) I do not overlook,
Since of it I have also said
That she is the sister of Unsteadiness.
Steadiness and Measure are sisters,
They are children of one virtue.
Right is the brother of the twain,
And of him I am now
To say willingly and to write well
What I have to say of him.—
And thou Right, write in my heart about right,
That in my utterance of it it become not wrong.
Thou indeed writest not with ink:
But everything will be worthless
That I may write with ink,
Unless it be that Thou seest to it all the day long."

In looking out for other books of about the same period, and treating of kindred subjects, we find the *Advice of a Father to his Son by* (the knight of) *Winsbeke*, to which is added the answer of the son. The date is not ascertainable, further than that the language assigns it to the 13th century, and that an allusion to Wolfram's Percival, which was written between 1205 and 1215, shows it to be later than this poem, and consequently later than our Thomasin. Like that greater author, Winsbeke deals little in the externals of ceremony, much less than the writers of similar English performances in this volume and in the *Babees Book*. Another hand has added *Advise of the Lady of Winsbeke* (die Winsbekin) *to her Daughter*.

Both books, of much smaller extent than Thomasin, were edited by Haupt, in 1845.[1] They are divided into stanzas, and the metre is rather more lively than Thomasin's.

We quote a few passages from the

ADVICE OF THE FATHER.

Sun, swer bî dir ein mære sage,	Son, if any one in your house tell a tale,
mit worten imz niht widersprich:	Do not contradict him in terms:

[1] Moritz Haupt. Der Winsbeke and die Winsbekin. Mit Anmerkungen, Leipzig. Weidmann, 1845 (Br. Mus.).

und swer dir sînen kumber klage	And if some one makes plaint to you of his grief
in schame, des erbarme dich :	With a feeling of shame, have pity on him.
der milte got erbarmet sich	Gentle God has pity
über alle die erbärmic sint.	On all those who are pitying.
den wîben allen schône sprich :	To all the ladies speak courteously (beautifully):
ist undr in einiu sælden vrî,	If there is among them one too free,
dâ wider sint tûsent oder mê	There are, as a set off, a thousand and more
den tugent und êre wonet bî.[1]	In whom dwell virtue and honour.
Sun, du solt kiuscher worte sên	Son, thou shalt use choice (chaste) words
und stætes muotes : tuost du daz	And be of steady spirit : if thou dost so
sô habe ez ûf die triuwe mîn,	Thou may'st believe on my faith
du lebst in êren deste baz.	Thou shalt live in honour all the more.
trac niemen nît nach langen haz,	Do not long bear hatred against anyone,
wes gên den vînden wol gemuot,	Be of good spirit towards thy enemies,
den friunden niht mit dienste laz,	Do not grow tired of serving thy friends,
dâ bî in zühten wol gezogen,	Be at the same time like one well brought up in Good-Breeding,
und grüeze den du grüezen solt,	And salute him whom it is right for thee to salute,
sô has dich sælde niht betrogen.	Then thou wilt be rarely disappointed.[2]

That late Latin author who justly, or by a mistake, has been called Dionysius Cato, and who, according to one who has specially inquired into the matter, may have lived in the fourth century after Christ, left to our ancestors a favourite reading book, in his *Sententiæ*, or collection of maxims on life. A very early prose translation was made of them by Notker in the 10th century (d. 1022). Many translations, extensions, adaptations followed, each writer altering or adding to the ground-work as, in his desire for the moralization of the world, appeared fit to him. Of such a "German Cato," which seems not to be later then the middle of the 13th century, we throw together a few extracts, bearing, to some extent, on the subject of courtesy.[3]

121 Wis ob dînem tische vrô :	121 Be joyful at your own table :
an vrömder stat tuo niht alsô.	At that of a stranger it is not equally fitting.[4]

[1] Stanza 10. [2] Stanza 39.

[3] Fr. Zarncke, Der deutsche Cato. Geschichte der deutschen Uebersetzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis zur Verdraengung derselben durch die Uebersetzung Seb. Brant's am Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts.—Leipzig, G. Wigand, 1852. (In the Brit. Mus.)

[4] Compare the injunction in the *Babees Book*, II. 26/29, 'to talk morosely'

bî vrömdes wirtes brote
hüet dîner rede genôte;

merke waz der wirt tuo
ant swîc du alle zît dar zuo.

sô der wirt iht vrâge dich,
sô antwurt im unde sprich.
Swîgen ist in grôziu tugent
beide an alter und an jugent.
Vliuch niumære,
wis niht im sagære:
swîgen schadet keinen tac,
klaffen wol geschaden mac.
Enruoche waz dîn wîp sage,
sô si von den knehten klage:

wîp hazzent dicke einen Man
dem der wirt wol gustes gan.

Manestu dînen vriunt ze vil
des er dir niht volgen wil,

ist er dir liep, swier denne tuot,

sô mane in doch, ob ez sî guot.
mit dienste manicvalden
sol man den vriunt behalden.
Gedenke niht deheine vrist
des zornes des vergezzen ist.

Du solt der knehte schônen
die dir dienen durch lônen;
gedenke daz ir einer ist
ein mensche als du selbe bist.

When taking the bread of a stranger host,
Guard your speech.
Mark what the host does,
And be you silent about it at all times.
If the host ask you anything,
Answer him and speak.
To be silent is a great virtue,
Both in old age and in youth.
Flee from slandér,
Be no tale-bearer:
To be silent, harms not any day,
Yelping may indeed do harm.
Inquire what thy wife says,
If she complains about the servants:
Wives greatly hate a man
To whom the master of the house is favourable.
If you exhort your friend too much
So that he is not inclined to follow you,
(Yet) if he is dear to you, whatever he do,
Still exhort him, it may be good.
By services of all kind
You shall retain your friend.
Never think at any time
Of the anger which has been forgotten.
You shall spare the servants
Who serve you for wages;
Think that each of them is
A human being, as you are yourself.

These editions and amplifications of Dionysius Cato, into which later authors freely introduced passages from Thomasin and from the Frîdanc,[1] lead us to a metrical performance by a writer calling himself the Tannhäuser,[2] and whom Gervinus considers the originator of such rules of table-discipline as have been inserted into the Cato. This opinion loses somewhat of its probability if we compare the Tannhäuser's work with the similar ones in English, French, and especially in Latin, with which the *Babees Book* has made us ac-

always, except at table when you are told to be jocose; here then doctors of courtesy differ.

[1] Gervinus, vol. ii. p. 428.

[2] Or Tanhauser, Tanhäuser, Tannawser, Tanhûsaere, Tannhuser.

quainted, and with Mr Rossetti's Italian text in the present volume. The text of Tannhäuser was published by Haupt from a MS. preserved at Vienna,[1] of the year 1395. It does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the poem; the language is, however, slightly more modern than that of Thomasin,[2] and the passage v. 217-20—see it below, with the original in the note—offers so striking a coincidence with one occurring in a poem by Trimberg (1260-1309), that we may fairly consider it to be written in reference to it, and to place our Tannhäuser at about the end of the 13th century.[3]

We are here in contact with a man of much slighter calibre than Thomasin, and are rather surprised on finding the line (257),

'Who never suffered, never did enjoy.'

On the whole, beyond the usual pious exordium and peroration, and some care for one's health, we find the author entirely concerned with externals, in which a touch, here and there, differs from the parallel productions just mentioned. We let our author speak:

COURTLY BREEDING BY TANNHAEUSER.

He appears to me to be a well-bred man,
Who can appreciate all courtliness,
Who never fell into habits of ill-breeding
And whose manners never departed from him.
There are many rules of Good Breeding,
And they are useful for many things;
Know ye now that he who will follow them,
He will very rarely do amiss.
These are maxims of great courtesy
Which a noble man shall keep,
And they treat of many a bad habit
Which may be known thereby.
Courtesy surely is good for people,
And he who gives Good Breeding its due
Has preserved himself from acting badly;
Him God makes right high-minded.
Therefore I advise my friends that
They hate the essence of Ill Breeding.
He who never forgot his rules of courtesy,
How rarely had he ever to blush!
At meals you shall speak as soon
As ye have sat down:[4]
'May Jesus Christ bless us.'
Think ye of God at all times.
When you eat, be exhorted
Not to forget the poor,[5]
So shall you be well known by God,

[1] Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt. Bd. VI. p. 488-96.

[2] This, after all, proves little, seeing how readily, in the middle ages, the copyists adapted the words of an original to the dialectic forms to which they were accustomed.

[3] About the middle of the 13th century there lived a poet, of the name of Tanhaeuser, who appears as a contemporary of Pope Urban IV. (1264-68). He may be identical with our author.

[4] Mark, not standing, as we moderns should think it more right.

[5] See above, in Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 15.

If good is done by you.
Be mindful of the great need
Of orphans, wherein they are:
Give them,[1] through God, your bread,
So you shall free yourself from hell.
No two noble men shall
Use the same spoon in eating their broth:[2]
That is well befitting for courteous people,
For very unknightly things happen.
To drink out of the dish befits no one,
Though many a one praise such bad manners,
Who takes it very wrongfully,
And pours down (the broth) like an enraged man;
And him who leans over the dish
Whilst he eats, like a pig,
And, in a very uncleanly manner, snorts
And smacks with his mouth.
Some people bite off pieces of bread
And thrust it (the remainder) back into the dish,
According to boorish manners:
Such Ill Breeding courteous people give up.
Some people are inclined,
When they have gnawed a bone,
To put it back again into the dish:
That you have to consider as acting greatly amiss.
Those who like to eat mustard and sauces,
Let them be very careful
To forbear being dirty,
And not to push their fingers into them.
He who belches when he is to eat
And blows his nose into the table-cloth,
Both these things are not befitting,[3]
As far as I can understand.
He who grunts (snouts), like a waterbadger,[4]
Whilst he eats, as some are accustomed to do,
And smacks like a Bavarian,
How much does he renounce Good Breeding.
He who wishes both to speak and eat,
To do the two kinds of work at the same time,
And to speak in his sleep,
He can but very rarely rest well.
During meal, leave disputing alone
Whilst you eat, as some do:
Think on that, oh my friends,
That never were there such ill-befitting manners.
The man who puts the loaf against his body,
. . . . . .
And cuts as a sick woman may do
. . . . . .
And if a little dish is brought in
With sauce when you go to dine,
You must not put into it
Your bare hand, that befits ill.
It appears to me a very bad action,
In whomsoever I see this piece of ill-breeding,
If a man has got in his mouth something to eat,
And the while drinks like a beast.
Some people blow into their drink;
Many a one likes to do so as a regular thing:
It is very uncertain whether you will be thanked for doing so;
Such ill-breeding one ought to be without.[5]
Some people look over their beakers
Whilst they drink; that does not befit well:
Have not such people as cavaliers
Where you are to have the best.
Before you drink, wipe your mouth,
Lest you dirty the drink with fatty matter:
Courtly manner befits well at all moments,
And is a courtly of thinking.

[1] An additional touch, not contained in the Italian parallel poem.

[2] Same remark.

[3] Vide Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 23, and note.

[4] The compound word not to be found: about the parts there is no doubt, but I know not what animal is meant. An otter? or beaver?

[5] In potum tuum sufflare nolito. *Babees Book*, II. 28/29.

Between the courses a man may
Well drink, if need impels him,
(And) if he can have the drink;
Not all people like it.
He who puts his finger on the knife
Whilst he cuts, as a skinner[1] does,
How rarely does such a man stir
When one conquers over heathens!
And those who loll on the table
Whilst they eat,—which does not befit well—
How rarely they shake their helmets
When one is called upon to serve the Ladies!
Again, you must not scratch your throat,
Whilst you eat, with the bare hand:
But if it happen (that you cannot help scratching)
Then courteously take a portion of your dress,
And scratch with that: that is more befitting.
Than that your skin should become dirtied,
The lookers-on observe it
(In him) who does not refrain from such ill manners.
You are not to clean your teeth
With knives, as some do,
And as still happens here and there:
He who does so, it is not good.
He who likes to eat with spoons,
And cannot manage to lift the food with them,
Let him forbear from the dirty way
Of shoving it on them with his fingers.
He who whilst at table, takes it into his head
To let out his girdle,
He may for a long while wait for me,
He is an odd fish, and not sound to the back-bone.[2]
He who blows his nose at table
And rubs it with his hand,
He is a disgraceful fellow, if I understand it well;
He is not aware of better breeding.
If it happen that one must
Place some little dish between (several guests),
Ye would be wanting in all good breeding
If ye were to put your hands in all at the same time.
He who means to eat with bread (steeping it into the broth)
Whilst another eats with him,
Let him well guard against that,
If he has got the least virtue.[3]
I hear it said of some
(If it is true, it is ill-befitting)
That they eat without having washed themselves:
May their joints grow lame!
Some are so over-joyous,
They eat, as it appears to me,
Without being aware of the whereabouts of their mouths
And bite their own fingers,
And their tongue, so I hear it said.[4]
. . . . . .
To whom will he complain of the damage.
. . . . . .
Now take good care of your manners:
If your companion at table wishes to drink,
You must not be eating the while:
That is courteous and well-befitting.
He who takes matter from his nose
And from his eyes, as some do,

---

[1] The 'skinner' makes his appearance here somewhat unexpectedly; but very likely he may be thought of as connected with the knacker, and the latter's business was ordinarily combined with the functions of the executioner, —of whom courtesy and fighting the heathen could certainly not be expected.

[2] er ist niht visch unz an den grât,—*bis auf die Gräten, nicht ganz was er sein soll*—not a fish to the backbone.

[3] Perhaps this translation is rather forced. The original is obscure, and some line or lines may be lost.

[4] *hoere ich*, which is repeated below, is, at present, a frequent expletive among the Germans of Bohemia: this observation, were it strengthened by others, might allow a guess at the home of the author.

To clean one's ears is not seemly
Whilst he eats, these three things are not good.
It is rarely, (nay) never good,
If one means to eat in company,
To wrong Moderation
With overeating; it is not befitting.
Towards night no one ought to eat much
Who has eaten well in the morning;
He who will greatly over-feed himself,
His boiled meat will rarely do him good.
Of overeating comes gout
And other disease, I hear it affirmed:
By gluttony many sins are done,
By drinking much wickedness has been done.
Hunger is truly better
Than to eat too much meat:
It is preferable that a man should hunger
Unless he wants to become an invalid.
Of overeating comes much trouble
For Carnival-time and at Eastertide:
Many thousands have died of eating
Which has ruined their stomachs.
He therefore who spoils his bread with sauces,[1]
That he may change his dress into drink,
And consequently gets into great trouble,
He must be called a fool.
He who, without being thirsty, will drink a great deal,
He draws near to death;
And (he who), without being hungry, will eat a great deal,
He won't live long, methinks.
On the other hand, if one shoves little into his mouth,
When great hunger oppresses him,
He becomes very rarely quite well;
In the long run he fares like the other.
Many people have died of hunger,
And such things still happen.
Of thirst many suffer,
Who yet do not die of thirst.
God bless our drink;
He who never had beginning
And never can come to an end,
May cause the drink to be salutary to us.
Hereof spake Sir Frîdanc,
(Saying) good wine is the best drink:
His view follows Tannhæuser:
Yet a good many heathens won't believe it.
Hot dishes
You ought to avoid, if ye be wise,
However great hunger you may have:
Such food injures many a one.
The household is quite desecrated
Where food is not properly attended to;
It cannot be called a household.
If there is neither bread nor drink.[2]

[1] Persicos, odi, puer apparatus.—*Hor.*

[2] I give the original of a few lines here, as a specimen of Tannhäuser's language:

swer machet eine hôchzît,
swie manige traht man gît,
dâ mac kein wirtschaft sîn,
da ensî guot brôt unde wîn.
swâ man des schâchzabels gert
und swa manz von hunger mert,*
dâ mac kurzwîle gevalen niht
und ist diu wirtschaft gar enwiht.
diu lazheit reizet manegen man
daz er guotes niht enkan:
daz wirt ein ewiger tôt
und bringet manege sêle in nôt.
nu lât iu die zuht behagen
. . . . . .
ê daz si komen zuo ir tagen
den kinden sol manz niht versagen.
swer alle zuht behalten kan
und lât die unzuht under wegen,
der wirt vor gote ein lieber man,
mac ers an sînen tôt gephlegen.
swer alle zuht kan bewarn
und volget nâch der zühte wol,
des sêle mac vil wol gevarn,
sô der lîp sterben sol.
vlorn wirt kein wol gezogen man,
kein ungezogen man der kan
ze himelrîche nimmer komen,
alsô hân ich vernomen.

* Obscure line of which we attempt no translation. Even the learned German editor gives it up, declaring: 'diese Zeile ist mir nicht deutlich.'

No gross feeder ever becomes quite wise;
That you may see by many a glutton.
No good sense has the wine-bibber
Who pays heed to nothing but his belly.
Overmuch food and drunkenness.
. . . . . .
He regrets it in his old age
And it makes many people stupid.
If one in his youth becomes a wine-bibber,
And amidst gluttony comes to his old age,
He gets by it a big belly,
But how little that does good to the soul!
A man ought to bear good and evil,
And amidst it all live courteously,
And ought not to lose heart
If things do not at every moment do according to his wish.
Who never suffered, never did enjoy;[1]
A pious man ought to bear everything,
Whatever fortune befall him,
Both the sweet and the bitter.

If a man gives a feast,
However many courses be given,
There can be no household
If there be no good bread and wine.
Where one plays with scanty bits of bread, like chessmen[2]
. . . . . .
There can take place no enjoyment
And the household is quite desecrated.
Laziness attracts many a man
That he may not do good:
That becomes an everlasting death
And gets many a soul into trouble.
Now let Good-breeding please you.
. . . . . .
Before they come to years
One shall not refuse it to the children.
He who can keep all Good-breeding
And leaves alone Ill-breeding,
He becomes dear in the eyes of God,
If he practises it (Good-breeding) to his death.
He who can guard all Good-breeding
And well follows the rules of Courtesy,
His soul may fare exceedingly well,
Though the body is to die.
No well-educated man is lost,
No badly-brought-up man can
Ever come to Heaven,
So have I understood.
Tannhæuser has made
This discourse with some trouble.
It warns well against evil actions
Him who is not (*yet*) thoroughly as he ought to be.
Here this good teaching cometh to an end;
God from Ill-Breeding us forfend.
Amen.[3]

---

[1] Wer nie sein Brod mit Thraenen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Naechte,
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Maechte, &c.—*Goethe.*

[2] This passage is explained by one in the *Renner* of Hugo of Trimberg:
God, let me never sit there
Where they play chess with little bits of bread on the table.
If I should chance to get a King
Or a Castle, I might do well:
With pawns I could hardly satisfy my hunger.
Wackernagel refers this to the over careful arrangement of pieces of bread on the table of a miser. Wackernagel über d. Schachspiel in Mittelalter in Krug und Weissenbach Beitr. zur Gesch. und Lit. Is. 28 fig. Aarau, 1846.

[3] der Tanhûsaere gemachet hât
die rede mit sümlîcher rât,
ez lîret wol für missetât
der niht ist vizch biz an den grât.
Dise gut ler hat ain ende
Got an vns alle vnzuht wend. Amen.

NOTE ON

Le Ménagier de Paris,

1393-4 A.D.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

THE French *Contenances de la Table*, &c., printed in Part II of the *Babees Book*, are, perhaps, enough of an Early English Text to have devoted to early French Manners and Cookery; but the importance of the *Ménagier*, which I had seen, but not worked at all, when I edited the *Babees Book*, may excuse a page or two being given to it, after the elaborate treatment of Thomasin von Zirclaria which we have made room for. The following paragraph by me on the work was inserted in *The Athenæum* of July 24th, 1859, p. 118, col. 1, 2.

'*Le Ménagier de Paris*' [is] a treatise on morals and domestic economy, composed about the year 1393, by a wealthy Parisian, for the instruction of his young wife, and edited in 1847 by M. Pichon, for the Société des Bibliophiles Français. The book, though scarce, is still procurable, and is certainly no less valuable in its way, while it is even more curious, than its better-known fellow, '*The Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry*,' wherein he wrote, in 1372, 'the Good Manners of Good Dames, and their Good Deeds,' to the end that his daughters might take example thereby. The '*Ménagier*' begins with the love of God and the salvation of the young wife's soul,—she is only fifteen,—ends with recipes for cooking sardines and young herrings, and embraces between these extremes the Whole Duty of Woman, as well the propriety of keeping her eyes on the ground as she walks about the town, as of ordering her servants to put their bed-candles out with their fingers or their mouths, and not with their shirts[1]. Part of the wife's personal duty to the husband in winter, and in summer too, we must quote in the original[2]: —"Gardez en yver qu'il ait bon feu sans fumée; et entre vos mamelles [soit] bien couchié, bien couvert; et illec l'ensorcellez[3] Et en

[1] ii. 71. [2] i. 171. [3] Charme, inchaunt, bewitch, eye-bite. *Cotgrave.*

esté, gardez que en vostre chambre, ne en vostre lit, n'ait nulles puces ; ce que vous pouvez faire en six manières, si comme j'ay oy dire." And then follow the six methods for getting rid of these pestilent parasites. The book, to our surprise, notices the custom of servants using the word "sanglant" in their oaths: "de males *sanglantes* fièvres... de male *sanglante* journée."[1] We know no such early use of "bloody" in English, but may notice that some costermongers have lately substituted the participle "bleeding" for the adjective. "My bleeding barrow" is the latest phrase in vogue. The '*Ménagier*' contains a treatise on Hawking, a great many bills-of-fare for dinners, weddings, &c., and numerous recipes for dishes,—among which may be noticed one for Chaucer's blancmanger (our 'Forme of Cury' has two); another for an English dish, "soubtil brouet d'Angleterre"[2]—chestnuts, eggs, pig's liver, and spices, boiled and strained; and another containing four ways of making the *gaufres*, since popular at penny-ice shops. The ginger "columbine," that puzzled Mr Furnivall in his 'Russell's Book of Nurture,' is explained to be an inferior kind of ginger, cheaper and worse than the darker-skinned whiter-insided "*gingembre mesche*," worth 20 sols a pound, while columbine costs only 11[3].

But this sketch is a very incomplete one, as the reader will see from the title of the book, which is as follows:

"*Le Ménagier de Paris*, Traité de Morale et d'Économie Domestique, composé vers 1393 (A.D.) par un Bourgeois Parisien; contenant *des préceptes moraux*, quelques fait historiques, des instructions sur *l'art de diriger une maison*, des renseignemens sur *la consommation du Roi, des Princes, et de la ville de Paris*, à la fin du quatorzième siècle, des conseils sur *le jardinage* et sur *le choix des chevaux; un traité de cuisine* fort étendu, et un autre non moins complet sur *la chasse à l'epervier:* ensemble, L'histoire de *Griséldis, Mellibée et Prudence* par Albertan de Brescia (1246), traduit par frère Renault de Louens; et *le chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, poëme composé, en 1342, par Jean Bruyant, notaire au Châtelet de Paris; publié pour la première fois par *la Société des Bibliophiles François*." Paris, 1846 (2 vols. 8vo., edited by M. Jérôme Pichon, President of the Society.)

The book well deserves translation into English, the moral parts being written in a loving, tender spirit, which speak well for the character of the old husband of near sixty, though he had married a

[1] ii. 59. [2] ii. 166. [3] ii. 230.

young orphan-girl of 15 ; "seldom will you see ever so old a man who will not willingly marry a young woman" (i. 158). And though, as the reader will have seen, the old man has some regard for his creature and sexual comforts, yet he looks even more to his young wife's second husband than himself, and more to her being as thoroughly mistress of her household for her own sake than for his. A sweet and loving wife, a sensible religious woman, and a finished housewife, would the good old bourgeois husband—a gentleman in spirit and station too—make of the young untrained girl whose life he had linked to his own.

The work is divided into three *Distinctions* or Parts, each with its *articles* or sections.

I. How to gain the love of God and the salvation of your soul.

1. Pray to God and the Virgin when you wake in the morning. (p. 9-15)
2. On choosing good companions, going to church, confession, &c. 15-16
3. Always love God and the Virgin ; with an abstract of a treatise on Repentance, Confession, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues. 16-62
4. Live chastely, like Susanna, Lucretia, &c. 62-76
5. Love your husband (whether me or another) like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel. 76-96
6. Be humble and obedient to your husband, like Grisild, &c. In the illustrative story, p. 158-165, a cure for a saucy wife is given : bleed her till she faints. 96-168
7. Be 'curieuse' and careful of his person (From this is the extract above, p. 149, 150. An interesting chapter) 168-177
8. Keep your husband's secrets, and conceal his faults ; don't talk scandal, exaggerate, as other women do, &c. 177-185
9. If your husband 's going to make a fool of himself like Melibeus, quietly stop him, as Prudence did 185-240

Part II. begins the second volume, and is of Managing the Household, gaining Friends, guarding against Mishaps and Old Age.

§ 1. Take care of, and pleasure in, your house (including the Poem of '*The Way of Poverty and Riches*,' by Jean Bruyant, 1342 A.D., p. 4-42) 1-42

§ 2. Of the flower- and kitchen-garden, &c. 43-53

§ 3. How to choose men-servants, women-servants, &c., and tradesmen; to teach servants to clean dresses, &c., to look after sheep, horses, &c., and to take care of and cure wines. (A good chapter) 53-79

§ 4. Of the Butchers and the consumption of Paris; cartes of divers dinners and suppers, and one wedding-breakfast of *Maistre Jean de Haute-court* (p. 118-123)[1] 80-124

§ 5. Recipes for all kinds of soups, sauces, joints, &c., for invalids as well as healthy people; with an Appendix of Recipes, by M. Pichon (p. 273-7) 125-277

Part III. Of this, unluckily, only the second section, the *Book of Hawking*, vol. ii, p. 279-326, exists in the MSS, says M. Pichon. The 1st section should have been on games of chance, dice, and (?) chess (*par rocs et par roys*). The 3rd section should have been of games by questions, which wanted reckoning and numbers to answer them, and were difficult to find out.

As a sample of the Recipes, Part II., § 5, here are two for cooking un-English French dishes, special to Johnny Crapaud:

Frogs.[2] To take them, have a line and a little fish-hook with a bait of flesh or of red cloth; and, having caught your frogs, cut them across through the body, near the thighs, and empty what you'll find in the arse[3]; and take the two thighs of the said frogs; cut off the feet; skin the said thighs all raw; then have cold water, and wash them; and if the thighs stop a night in cold water, they'll be so much the better and tenderer. And thus soaked, let them be washed in warm water, and then put in a towel, and wiped. The said thighs, thus washed and wiped, let them be besmeared with

[1] Compare 'A Feste for a Bryde,' *Babees Book*, p. 357. [2] ii. 222-3.
[3] *Col:* m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament. *Cotgrave.*

flour, that is, bemealed or floured[1] (*en farine touillées*, id est, *enfarinées*), and afterwards fried in oil, lard,[2] or other liquor, and be put in a dish, and powder [spice, &c.] on it.

Snails, which are called *escargols* (snails), should be caught in the morning. Take the young small snails, those that have black shells, from the vines or elder-trees; then wash them in so much water that they throw up no more scum; then wash them once in salt and vinegar, and set them to stew (*cuire*) in water. Then you must pick these snails out of the shell at the point of a pin or needle; and then you must take off their tail, which is black, for that is their turd; and then wash them, and put them to stew and boil in water; and then take them out, and put them in a plate or dish to be eaten with bread. And also some say that they are better fried in oil and onion, or other liquor, after they have been cooked as above said; and they are eaten with powder [spice, &c.] and are for rich people.

On this, M. Pichon comments: We find at the end of *The Shepherds' Calendar* (Paris, 1493, folio, fol. N vj), a very curious piece on the Snail, in which the writer says to it: 'Never does a Lombard eat thee in such sauce as we make for thee. - We put thee in a big plate, with black pepper and onions.'[3]

Besides recipes for dishes, *Le Ménagier* contains others for making glue (ii. 250), marking-ink (ii. 263); for curing toothache (ii. 257), &c., &c., and one for curing the bite of a mad dog or other beast (ii. 259); an odd bit of gibberish:—"Take a crust of bread, and write what follows: † Bestera † bestie † nay † brigonay † dictera † sagragan † es † domina † fiat † fiat † fiat †."

This bare sketch does, of course, no kind of justice to the book, which is full of interest of all kinds to the Englishman as well as the Frenchman. Those members who can afford it, should buy it; and

[1] *Enfariné* . . Bemealed; whited or strewed ouer with meale. *Cotgrave.*

[2] *Sain:* m. Seame; the tallow, fat, or grease of a Hog, or of a rauenous wild beast. *ib.*

[3] Oncques Lombard ne te mangeat,
A telle saulce que [nous] ferons;
Si te mettrons en vug grant plat,
Au poyvre noir et aux ognons.

any one who wishes to pursue the subject farther should read Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, depuis l'origine de la Nation jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols. Paris, 1782; *Le Livre fort excellente de Cuisine*, Lyons, 1542, or its reprint; the *Grand Cuisinier de toutes Cuisines* (Paris, between 1566 and 1574) —the new edition of it by M. de la Villegille, preparing in 1846, has not been published;—the *Fleur de toute Cuisine . . revue et corrigée par Pierre Pidoue*, Paris, 1543; and M. Pichon's article on 'Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent . . écuyer de cuisine de Charles VI en 1386 . . dans le *Bulletin* du bibliophile de Techener, no. de juin 1843.'[1] M. Bachelin-Deflorenne says that 'of the many books of *Cuisinières Bourgeoises*, there is only one to be recommended, that by M. Hanffe, *Le Livre de Cuisine*, with 25 plates in chromolithography, and 161 vignettes engraved on wood, 1847, large 8vo, price about 50 francs.'

[1] *Le Ménagier*, p. xxxv-vi.

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